ABSTRACT

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THE HISTORY AND ADVANCEMENT OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN ADVERTISING FROM 1895 TO 1995

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This study examined the history and advancement of African-Americans in advertising from 1895 to 1995 by analyzing images and portrayals of African-Americans in the print and broadcasting media. In addition, the study traced the growth of the African-American consumer market which was created largely by Black businesses. Pertinent information regarding the history and progress of African-Americans in advertising was obtained through interviews conducted by the author with media and advertising industry professionals from regional and national corporations.

The conclusions of this study show that in today's contemporary society the interaction and inclusion of African-Americans in the advertising industry reveal positive and progressive signs. However, forces such as racism, discrimination, and segregation slowed the progress of Black Americans in advertising for decades. Nonetheless, America has witnessed progress from the largely negative advertising images of Aunt Jemima and Sambo to a photograph of sports hero Michael Jordan on a Wheaties cereal box.

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THE HISTORY AND ADVANCEMENT OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN THE ADVERTISING INDUSTRY, 1895 - 1995

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DOCTOR OF ARTS DEGREE IN HISTORY

BY

JANICE WARD MOSS

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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CHAPTER I

THE IMAGES OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN THE ADVERTISING INDUSTRY, 1895 - 1995

The earliest commercial involvement of African-Americans in the advertising industry dates back to the 1890's. This time period is significant in the history of advertising because it provides the first recorded example of how a few prominent American companies began to display the physical image of African-Americans on their consumer product labels.[1] Also, during this time, America was experiencing great expansion in an industrialized age. Railroad expansion and the growth of the steel industry became significant during this period. Moreover, during the same time frame, America witnessed the emergence of metropolitan cities across the country. The economic growth within these urban areas gave rise to the establishment of a new elite class of Americans whose wealth and popularity became the envy of other economic groups.

Paul Boyer, a historian and author of The Enduring Vision, states that wealthy businessmen like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller helped to contribute to the idea of wealth as being good and indeed the "Christian way."[2] During this time period, such men continued to reap the

success of their respective financial empires. This era of wealth and industrial expansion continued beyond the turn of the century, and the advertising industry in America took advantage of it. According to Boyer, in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, industrialization not only introduced an unprecedented range of innovative products but it also opened up new jobs in other fields, such as that of the advertising industry. As the growth of urban cities continued, manufacturers began to market their products to a greater number of consumers. For example, innovations in food technology, specifically breakfast cereals, changed the eating habits of people in America during this same era.

This change in Americans' eating habits was precipitated by the dietary doctrine of Sylvester Graham, a dietary health advocate during the early 1800's. Graham was alarmed by the 1832 cholera epidemic. As a result, he counseled changes in diet and regimen, as well as total abstinence from alcohol. He contended that Americans ate too much and he urged them to substitute vegetables, fruits, and coarse, whole-grain bread (called Graham bread) for meat. In addition, he wanted people to abstain from spices, coffee, and tea. Subsequently, Graham's diet attracted a broad audience that extended beyond the perimeters of the reform movement. His dietary ideas greatly influenced a number of food manufacturers in American during the 1870's and beyond.

Moreover, food manufacturing companies such as those headed by John Harvey Kellogg began to introduce similar breakfast food products for American consumers. Kellogg, a physician from Battle Creek, Michigan, began to market Granola -- a wheat, corn, and oat mixture -- that he advertised as being healthier than the standard American breakfast of sausage, eggs, and potatoes.[3] In the next three decades Kellogg produced a variety of new cereals which included his world famous Kellogg's Corn Flakes.

Following Kellogg's marketing success with breakfast products, other manufacturers, such as Quaker Oats and Proctor and Gamble, began to use a variety of methods, images, and/or gimmicks to sell their products. Moreover, because the vast majority of White Americans thought of Blacks as good domestic servants, the food industry began to use the image of African-Americans to promote products. The stereotypical notion that African-Americans were good cooks grew out of the racial climate of the 1890's period.[4] African-Americans who were featured in advertisements which appeared in mainstream publications in the years prior to the 1940's, were often based on fictional characters which promoted this stereotypical idea.

Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, the author of Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus, conducted a critical study on the depiction, portrayal, and stereotyping of African-Americans in advertising. She examined fictional characters such as

Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, Sambo, and Rastus, the "Cream of Wheat" chef. Kern-Foxworth provided additional documentation of the well-known fact that during the turn of the century, specific attitudes about race existed in American society. These racial overtones existed due to several factors, one of which was Social Darwinism, a pervasive basic philosophical school of thought which gained popularity in late nineteenth century America.[5]

Social Darwinism was a belief which maintained that those who were fittest for survival enjoyed wealth and success, while the rest remained poor because they were unfit.[6] A number of Social Darwinists in America deeply believed in this philosophical idea and they, in turn, applied it to racial groups, specifically White and Black Americans. Taken in this context, Social Darwinism promoted the idea that African-Americans were inferior to White Americans and that the former were only entitled to second class citizenship status. This school of thought suggested that African-Americans should not enjoy the same rights as Euro-Americans under the law.

According to George Braziller, the author of Social Darwinism, Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, on numerous occasions, spoke at great lengths on the subject of Social Darwinism while extolling the virtues of how it insured the survival of the fittest in every area of American society.[7] These wealthy businessmen sought to be

pioneers in business development while at the same time they placed increased emphasis on Social Darwinism. Rockefeller and Carnegie promoted their own ideas and strategies regarding the way business establishments should operate and how they should be managed and financed. In addition, they sought to be instrumental in governmental policy making and in dictating how African-Americans should behave and be perceived as individuals.

For example, Andrew Carnegie and another industrialist, William Baldwin, were motivated, at least in part, by their feelings that they should assume responsibility for bestowing what the economic system failed to provide directly for social need. Thus, the industrialists of the United States had a feeling of duty toward those who were not reaping benefits from the economic order. As one illustration of their sense of obligation, these men contributed substantially toward bringing about a new day for education in the South by donating funding to Black institutions, such as Fisk University and Tuskegee Institute.[8]

Also, during this time period, it was customary for the elite class to employ African-Americans as maids, chefs, nannies, butlers, and grounds keepers in their homes. Wealthy Americans typically believed that African-Americans could perform domestic work well because of their years in slavery. Kern-Foxworth maintained that Americans generally

believed that Blacks were the best domestic workers; in the public's mind, Blacks could do such work the best.[9]

According to noted historian John Hope Franklin, this popular notion of Blacks as superior domestic workers was developed during the colonial period in America. During that period Black women worked as cooks, maids, nannies, and field hands, while the men worked as butlers, custodians, and field hands. As a result, White slave owners and their families grew accustomed to Blacks performing domestic tasks, and this image, over time, became deeply ingrained into the Euro-American mind set. This idea slowly became part of the American fabric regarding the social and economic status of Black Americans.[10]

This popular image of African-Americans as domestics had its ramifications in business. A number of advertisers during the late 1800's created fictional images of African-Americans to be displayed on the labels of consumer products. These advertisers wanted to capture and capitalize on the image that many Euro-Americans had of African-Americans as being good domestic workers. Advertisers used the image of Blacks as being efficient, as well as comical, to sell their products. The efficient image was used to help reinforce the fact that Blacks could cook better, clean better, and work in the field better than any race of people. On the other hand, the comical image on which advertisers capitalized was used simply as a gimmick

to make people remember the product, such as Aunt Jemima Pancake Mix and Little African Licorice Drops.[11] For example, talented Black actors and entertainers were confined by White advertisers and White society to playing demeaning stereotypical characterizations such as comedic roles of their people. As a result, Black performers adopted fake personas as they cultivated negative Negro personality traits. Moreover, Black performers used improper grammar, walked with a shuffle and they made ridiculous facial expressions which, while making them look funny to Whites, was very demeaning to Black America. The stereotypical images were standard traits of the distinctive personalities which, for Whites, made Black people seem funny and jovial.[12] This was a similar selling technique that was used during the 1800's and beyond by White advertisers to sell their products to the general public. However, Blacks most often became the brunt of the humor in these advertisements. In essence, many White Americans were laughing at the image of Blacks in these ads and not with them. Thus, Blacks were viewed as clowns or comics. Advertisers soon found that this selling method paid off considerably.

In an effort to create the appropriate image to be displayed on the label of products, manufacturers began to study and develop strategies to capture this particular promotional image in order to entice White consumers to buy

their products. Some manufacturers visited minstrel shows, across the country, which displayed actors playing fictional characters acting out comical skits. In many instances these White actors appeared on stage in black face, thus pretending to be African-Americans.

Historian Harry A. Ploski, in The Negro Almanac, points out that comic roles in minstrel shows were extremely popular in the 1800's. He explains that a minstrel show was a comedy act in which White and Black entertainers told jokes about the current state of the nation. For example, the performers often poked fun at the government and major political figures of that day. However, the commercial success of minstrel shows did not become a reality until the mid 1800's. During that time, some White performers popularized their minstrel acts through the use of stereotypical comic routines of African-American life. Thomas Can Rice attained national and commercial success when he imitated an African-American stable hand on the stage in Louisville, Kentucky. Rice is known historically as the actor that popularized the song, "Jim Crow."[13]

In the latter part of the nineteenth century when minstrel show entertainment was highly popular, there were numerous minstrel show companies on the road. These shows included the Christy Minstrels, Haverly's, Lew Duckstader, Primrise, and Al G. Fields. The Georgia Minstrels were an all African-American group which was founded in 1865 by

Charles Hicks. This minstrel group was later re-organized by a White manager and became known as Callender's Original Georgia Minstrels until the late 1800's. This group made national and European tours and gained wide popularity as the first all African-American minstrel group. At the peak of their success, Callender's Original Georgia Minstrels consisted of twenty-one performers who blended serious music with slapstick comedy. Moreover, during their peak period of popularity, the Original Georgia Minstrels' image appeared on playbills, advertisement posters, and trading cards all across America and abroad.[14] The commercial success of minstrel show characters and/or caricatures sparked an advertising selling trend by advertisers that continued well into the 1930's, 1940's, and beyond.

With the advent of minstrel show mania, the image of African-Americans began appearing regularly in advertising. During this time period the image of African-Americans appeared on consumer product labels, playbills, advertisement posters, shipping crates, and trading cards. Of the items listed above, trading cards became an item which people, both White and Black, collected. Trading cards were given to customers by store owners as a token of their appreciation for purchasing household items like shoes, thread, and furniture from their establishments. Over time trading cards became popular because of improvements in color lithography techniques. According to

Douglas Congdon-Martin, author of Images in Black, trading cards varied greatly in size and color contrast, as well as subject matter. For example, one type of trading card centered around Black humor which displayed fictional African-American characters in what amounted to negative vignettes. Most often, these characters' facial expressions were extremely exaggerated to enhance the selling appeal of the trading cards.[15] Such imaginary images thus helped to create a stereotype of Black people. (Despite the negative portrayals of Blacks, the cards ultimately became valuable collectibles in much later years.)

The first large scale use of African-American fictional characters in advertising actually came with the introduction of the trading cards. It is likely that the African-American images on the trading cards may have had their origin from comic acts found in the early minstrel shows of the nineteenth century. Although trading cards lost their momentum with the advent of mainstream national magazines, the use of the stereotypical image of African-Americans in advertising continued to be exploited into the twentieth century.

One of the most popular and most profitable African-American fictional characters, which has endured the test of time, is the Aunt Jemima figure. This American icon has been used and promoted by the Quaker Oats Company since 1889. Aunt Jemima was originally created in the image of a

character from an antebellum southern plantation. This depicted a full-figured, cheerful, African-American, female cook wearing starched clothes and a red bandanna around her head.[16] Aunt Jemima's mission over the years has been relatively simple. Her image on the label of products was used to bring confidence to consumers of White middle and elite class women who were wary of buying the new convenience foods. Aunt Jemima's image was intended to provide the reassurance that this was the type of food that she herself would prepare.

Now, 106 years after its creation, the image of Aunt Jemima's smiling face continues to sell pancake mix. In the 1990's, the Aunt Jemima trademark accounts for products ranging from the still popular pancake mix to microwave ready breakfast foods, accounting for $300 million of Quaker Oats' $5.3 billion in sales. Although the Aunt Jemima character has been on store shelves for decades, few people know how advertisers at the Quaker Oats Company created the multi-million dollar icon. According to Hal Morgan, a historian and writer, the Aunt Jemima trademark had its beginnings in Missouri, when Chris L. Rutt, a reporter of the St. Joseph Gazette, and Charles G. Underwood, a mill owner, purchased the Pearl Milling Company in 1888. These men began a relentless search for a product that all Americans would eat. They needed something exclusive and novel. The men tried to determine the most

popular food product. They soon came up with pancakes as the answer to their question.[17] Hannah Campbell, author of Why Did They Name It, explained that Underwood was a shrewd businessman and he knew that pancakes were difficult to mix with any consistency from one batch to the next. However, Underwood had mastered the art of blending just the right amount of ingredients in his mix to sell to the consumer market.[18]

After achieving success with their blending techniques, Rutt and Underwood immediately began to package their pancake mix for sale to the general public. Before the conception of the Aunt Jemima name, the first commercial batch of pancake mix was packaged in paper bags with a generic label which stated that it was self-rising pancake flour. In 1889, Rutt and Underwood began an immediate search for a symbol that would make their product more recognizable by American housewives.[19]

Chris L. Rutt and Charles Underwood did not know that their quest for a pancake mix symbol ultimately would be found in a very unusual place. During a visit to a Vaudeville show in St. Joseph, Missouri, one evening in 1889, they saw a team of black-faced minstrel comedians known as Baker and Farrell. The high point of the act involved a jazzy, rhythmic, New Orleans style "cake walk" performed to a tune called "Aunt Jemima,"[20] one of the most popular songs of the day. This song was originally

performed by Bill Kersands, who was a well-known African-American minstrel actor, from 1870 to 1890. By 1877 Kersands had performed the song more than 3,000 times, alternating among three different improvisational texts. Historically, Kersands is known as the highest paid African-American minstrel of his time; his remarkable popularity partially was based on his theme song, "Old Aunt Jemima." According to Stanley Sacharow, one of the most widely sung 1875 versions used these lyrics:

> My old missus promise me Old Aunt Jemima, oh, oh, oh when she died she'd set me free. Old Aunt Jemima, oh, oh, oh, she lived so long her head got bald, Old Aunt Jemima, oh, oh, oh she swore she would not die at all Old Aunt Jemima, oh, oh, oh.[21]

The team of Baker and Farrell, dressed in aprons and red bandannas reminiscent of the traditional southern cook, capitalized on the song's popularity. Kern-Foxworth states that "Rutt was mesmerized by the minstrel show act and he knew that the song and costume projected the image that he and Underwood had been searching for. Rutt and Underwood decided to mimic the act, using not only the name, but the likeness of the southern stereotypical mammy figure pictured on the lithographed posters, which advertised the act of Baker and Farrell."[22]

Thus began a new era in advertising for African-Americans. Even though Aunt Jemima was just a minstrel show character, Rutt and Underwood set out to find a living person who would fit the stereotypical image of this

character: that is, a Black woman who would provide the image for their pancake mix advertising campaign.[23] This was the first time, moreover, that a living person would be used by an American company to personify a company's trademark.[24] However, because Rutt and Underwood could not raise the necessary money to promote the character in the beginning of the era of convenience food products, they sold the trademark to the R.T. Davis Milling Company. Although the Davis Milling Company endured financial and economic changes over the next three decades, the company continued to promote the Aunt Jemima product. As a result, the famed Aunt Jemima trademark and image remained unchanged. From the 1890's until the early 1960's, several women have portrayed Aunt Jemima, but her controversial red bandanna and effervescent smile have remained the same.[25]

The success experienced by the Aunt Jemima trademark for a century can be attributed in part to the remarkable women who brought the label to life. Before hiring Nancy Green, the first real person to portray the Aunt Jemima character, the Aunt Jemima trademark was just a painting of the "mammy" figure from the Baker and Farrell Minstrel Show advertisement. This was to change, however, around the turn of the century when R.T. Davis, who was the owner of the Davis Milling Company and the owner of the Aunt Jemima trademark, sent requests to all his food broker friends to look for a Black woman who exemplified southern hospitality

and also had the personality necessary to make Aunt Jemima a household name throughout America. Davis' appeal was answered by Charles Jackson, a wholesaler from Chicago, who knew of a Black woman who worked for a friend of his.[26] Kevin McManus, author of Collections from a Painful Past, has shown that the woman was one Nancy Green. Born a slave in Montgomery County, Kentucky, in 1834, she later moved to Chicago, where she was a cook for a judge and served as a nurse for his two sons. Davis contacted Green and confirmed Jackson's appraisal: not only was she a good cook, but also an attractive woman with an outgoing, friendly personality.[27] Nancy Green was thus the ideal person to bring the Aunt Jemima trademark to life. Meeting with high approval from all of the company officials, Green was signed to an exclusive contract to personify Aunt Jemima for the rest of her life.

A promotional gimmick featuring Green may have saved the company from financial ruin in 1893. That year, on the brink of bankruptcy, the executives of the company decided to risk their entire fortune on a promotional exhibition, featuring Green, at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. For this huge international showcase, the Davis Milling Company constructed the world's largest flour barrel, 24 feet high and 16 feet in diameter. Doors were mounted on the side, and the interior was fitted out as a reception parlor to entertain visitors. Outside the barrel,

near the front, was Green in the persona of Aunt Jemima. According to Stanley Sacharow, Green cooked pancakes, sang songs, and told stories of the Old South, while greeting fair visitors. She had served more than a million pancakes by the time the fair ended, and more than 50,000 orders were placed for Aunt Jemima pancake mix from countries all over the world.[28]

Nancy Green's dramatization of Aunt Jemima was such a huge success that special details of policemen were assigned to keep the crowds moving at the Davis exhibit. In recognition of her triumphant debut, Green was awarded a medal and certificate from fair organizers, who proclaimed her the pancake queen. Green also traveled around the country demonstrating Aunt Jemima pancake mix at fairs, food stores, and festivals. She made numerous trips through the United States and Canada. In addition, she undertook an aggressive national advertising campaign to promote further the marketing of pancake products. Green was asked by Davis Mills to attend the Paris Exposition in 1900, but she refused their offer to go overseas. Green asserted that, "I was born in this country and here I'll die, not somewhere betwixt here and somewhere else."[29]

When not touring the United States and Canada as Aunt Jemima, Green lived on the south side of Chicago, where she remained a representative of the Davis Milling Company until her death in 1923. Nancy Green is significant as a

historical figure today because she was the first African-American woman who portrayed a sales image for a nationally established company.

It is ironic that the Davis Milling Company was able to make millions of dollars from the hard work of Nancy Green, because she received only a small amount of money for her work. At the turn of the century, it was customary for domestic workers to earn only a minimum amount of compensation for their skills, and this appeared to have been the case for Green.[30] Furthermore, Davis Milling Company representatives disclosed to Nancy Green that her face would be seen all across the nation and that this publicity would count as part of her earnings. So, in essence, Nancy Green became a celebrity without a celebrity salary. Neither did her family members or heirs ever receive any commercial compensation for her efforts. It appears that the Davis Milling Company was primarily interested in Green's domestic work ethic and their own monetary gains, rather than her hard work and dedication. Although Nancy Green was able to reverse the Davis Milling Company's declining sales figures into lucrative million dollar earnings, her hard work still is virtually unknown, and the Davis Milling Company and/or Quaker Oats owes her a great debt for helping to make it what it is today, a 5.3 billion dollar establishment.[31]

After the reign of Nancy Green, a number of African-American women continued the legacy of Aunt Jemima. Anna Robinson became the second African-American female who portrayed Aunt Jemima. In 1933, Robinson made her debut as Aunt Jemima at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition. The Quaker Oats Company designed an entire advertising campaign around Robinson for her United States promotional tour, with this particular tour covering cities such as New York, Chicago, Kansas, and St. Louis, appearing at such famed locales as El Morocco, "21," The Stork Club, and the Waldorf-Astoria. In so doing, she made history, since for the most part, African-Americans did not frequent places of this nature as guests or patrons due to the policies of Jim Crow in America.[32] Everywhere Robinson went on her U.S. tour, she was photographed by the national press, making pancakes for luminaries from the field of motion pictures, radio, and Broadway. Moreover, advertisements featuring Robinson appeared in well-known magazines and newspapers across the country such as Harper's and Ladies' Home Journal. The officials of Quaker Oats were so impressed with the advertisements using Robinson that they commissioned Haddon Sunblom, a nationally known commercial artist, to paint a portrait of her.[33] The Aunt Jemima package was redesigned around Robinson's likeness, a very attractive, three-hundred, fifty pound, African-American

woman. Robinson remained with the Quaker Oats Company until her death in 1951.

Edith Wilson became the third woman who portrayed Aunt Jemima. Wilson was a classic blues singer from Chicago who came from a well-educated family in Louisville, Kentucky. In addition, she appeared in concerts throughout the country during the 1930's and the 1940's. Wilson also appeared on the now famous "Amos 'n Andy" and "Great Guildersleeve" radio shows during the 1940's, radio serials which themselves had evolved from minstrel shows and vaudeville shows of the 1890's through 1920's. Quaker Oats capitalized on Wilson's theatrical talents by letting her portray Aunt Jemima on radio, and later television, as well as having her make appearances across the United States during the 1940's, 1950's, and the 1960's. Wilson was the first woman who portrayed Aunt Jemima in television commercials. She received much support from her family and friends in her television endeavor, but she was criticized by members of the Black community for her stereotypical portrayal of Aunt Jemima on national television. After years of hard work and dedication to the products she promoted, Wilson died from a stroke on March 39, 1981.

From 1950 until the early 1960's, there were also many look-alike Aunt Jemimas working simultaneously for the Quaker Oats Company, rather like department store Santa Clauses. They appeared at supermarkets, trade shows, and

other promotional events. The original Aunt Jemima campaign is recognized today as the first organized sales promotion campaign, thus initiating an innovative strategy in advertising as one of the first campaigns to create "an image."[34] The idea behind the image, from the beginning onward, was to promote a product by reinforcing the notion in the minds of Americans that African-American women were good cooks and domestic workers. While this is not necessarily a negative notion in and of itself, it did lead to other negative connotations about the status and image of African-Americans. For example, such a notion on the part of many advertisers during that era promoted the stereotypical idea that African-Americans could only achieve and excel as domestics or servants in American life.

The image of Aunt Jemima also fed into a disturbing trend for Black portrayal in mainstream advertisements and on the movie screen. Most often Blacks, and Black women especially, were cast in comical or domestic roles in movies. For example, Louise Beavers, an outstanding Black actress during the 1920's and 1930's, could only secure movie roles portraying mammies, cooks, and maids. According to Donald Bogle, author of <u>An Interpretative History of Blacks in American Films</u>, these images gave the general public the perception that Blacks were happy-go-lucky, domestic workers. This misleading perception was also

depicted in advertisements in mainstream newspapers across the country.[35]

The "Sambo" character was another component of this phenomenon. The fictional Sambo figure was created from a popular children's book entitled Little Black Sambo. The book was a very controversial publication for the African-American community, since the character's features were exaggerated and his behavior portrayed in stereotypical vignettes, making him appear to be childlike, uneducated, and docile.[36] The Sambo character was another popular advertising image, displayed during the earlier part of the century on soap boxes, shipping crates, tobacco boxes, and a number of household products. From the 1950's through the mid 1970's, it was used to promote a chain of restaurants across the country. The controversy regarding the use of the Sambo character at the restaurants accelerated in 1977 when some concerned residents of Reston, Virginia, protested the planned opening of one of the restaurants there.[37] The protestors made no claims that the chain discriminated against anyone, however they did say that the name, as a stereotypical reference to African-Americans, was totally objectionable.

So, what is in a name and a symbol? The answer to this question is image, especially when a fictional character is used to represent an entire group of people. Symbols like Sambo and Aunt Jemima have evolved into icons,

and in so doing, have become integral components of American culture. As such they have been important in molding and perpetuating perceptions of African-American people and culture. As Herbert M. Cole, a leading art historian at the University of California in Santa Barbara, so eloquently states, "Icons are powerful images because they encapsulate ideas and actions of central importance in human life."[38] In this case, the image has worked to the detriment of the African-American community.

Another African-American fictional character that has endured the test of time, is Rastus, the Cream of Wheat Chef. In 1895, the Cream of Wheat Company used a fictional picture of a Black chef that was found on an old woodcut skillet which was used as its trademark. Later by 1925, Rastus became the profitable trademark for the Cream of Wheat Company. During that year, Emery Mapes, a company executive, while dining in a Chicago restaurant, noticed the broad smile of an African-American waiter. Mapes instantly saw the waiter's image as the one which he needed for his company's trademark. Mapes persuaded the waiter to pose in a chef's cap for a full-face snapshot, for which he was paid five dollars for his time. Little did he know that his face would become as familiar to American families as that of George Washington, as it was promoted around the country on bags and boxes of Cream of Wheat.

Although his face has adorned Cream of Wheat boxes for over 70 years, neither the waiter nor any of his relatives ever received compensation for his picture. Throughout the years, many people have reportedly tried to win compensation by posing as the chef, or as a relative of the chef, but they were proven to be impostors by company officials. According to G. Barnard Clifford, treasurer and sales manager of the Cream of Wheat Company, "Colonel Mapes had a secret way of identifying the original man and we have never found him." The name "Rastus" was later given to the smiling chef; and his image was listed as one of the ads featured in the book of the 100 Greatest Advertisements in the World. Even today, the image of Rastus is still being prominently displayed on the label of Cream of Wheat boxes in supermarkets all over the world.[39]

In addition to Aunt Jemima, Sambo, and Rastus, yet another image of African-Americans became popular during the early twentieth century, although it is virtually unknown today. By 1898, the Gold Dust Twins image had become a part of the American consumer product market. The Gold Dust Twins were the trademark for Gold Dust Washing Powder. This product was introduced by the N.K. Fairbank Company of Chicago during the 1880's. The Gold Dust Twins were two fictional African-American children washing each other in a tub on the label of the washing powder. Since the 1880's, Gold Dust Washing Powder was known for its color and good

quality. The Gold Dust Twins image was the creation of E. W. Kembel, a staff artist at the Daily Graphic newspaper chain. Kembel got the idea from a cartoon in the English humor magazine, Punch, which showcased two Black children washing each other in a tub. The Fairbanks Company thought the idea presented an amusing concept and asked the artist to draw the twins for the washing powder package. In 1902, during a trade convention in Chicago, two Black children, David Henry Snipe and Thomas (last name unknown), were selected to pose as the Gold Dust Twins. These two children were the first real people that portrayed the fictional twins.[40]

Snipe was born on October 24, 1896, in New York. As a teenager, he traveled throughout the United States and Europe with the vaudeville team of Harvey and DeVore and remained with them until 1921. Snipe made his debut as a Gold Dust Twin during the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, along with Thomas. Robert Reed asserts that what was really fascinating about Snipe was that he was one of the original black faced comedians of that day. He played this comedic role as an adult for a means of making a living in the competitive world of entertainment. Snipe also appeared as a Black person imitating a White person and vice versa, thus providing a model for the famous performance style of both Al Jolson and Eddie Cantor who picked up on his performance and copied it.[41]

The St. Louis Fair was the peak of the Gold Dust Twins' career. During this event, the Fairbank Company set up a large exhibit which featured the Gold Dust Twins, dressed in red and blue skirts, handing out booklets to all visitors, but the use of live trademarks beyond that point was limited. According to Reed, through the years, the twins were featured in magazines, on billboards, and on other promotional items ranging from hand-held mirrors to thermometers. One of the billboards using the image of the children was recognized for being the greatest commercial poster ever placed on the billboards, with a headline that read, "Roosevelt Scoured Africa -- The Gold Dust Twins Scour America."[42] Accompanied by the slogan for which they became so well known, "Let the Gold Dust Twins Do Your Work," the poster appeared in all large cities, just a week prior to former President Theodore Roosevelt's return to America from an African safari, one of the avid big game hunter's celebrated trips to hunt big game.[43]

The Fairbanks' Company timing and the connection to American patriotism through the image of Theodore Roosevelt made for a very good advertising campaign. In addition to the poster the Gold Dust Twins became a part of American popular culture through the various forms in which their images were forged, including the 1904 World's Fair items, tin containers, calendars, signs, trade cards, buttons, and various size washing powder and scouring powder boxes. The

success of the Gold Dust Twins campaign suggests that for nearly fifty years, women in America relied on Goldie and Dustie (the twins) to do their cleaning for them. This notion further promoted the idea that African-Americans were good domestic workers and, in the case of the Gold Dust Twins, the company appeared to use their image because of their dark skin tone and colorful costumes, which were easy to recognize on the store shelves. Over the years, their skin tone was lightened and their features became somewhat less stereotypical, but their image for a long time contributed to mainstream perception of African-Americans as culturally inferior.

Yet,another African-American icon and trademark that has withstood the test of time is Uncle Ben. The original Uncle Ben, from whom Uncle Ben's Converted Rice derived its trademark, was a rice farmer in Houston, Texas. It was reported in the book entitled The Story of Uncle Ben that he harvested his rice with such care that he repeatedly received honors for full kernel yield and quality. Other rice growers, at that time, tried to copy Uncle Ben's successful process, but they usually fell short.

The story of Uncle Ben as an advertising image began during the 1940's, when Gordon L. Harwell, who eventually became president of the Uncle Ben's Converted Rice Company, and his partner were having dinner in a Chicago restaurant. The men agreed that they wanted to bring American consumers

the same high-quality rice that was being given to American troops during World War II, and they decided to call the product Uncle Ben's Converted Brand Rice. Recalling the legend of the famous Black rice farmer, even though the original Uncle Ben had died some years before, Harwell and his partner felt he would be an excellent symbol to represent their product. As a result, Frank Brown, the restaurant maitre d', a close friend of the men, was asked to pose for the now famous picture that would appear on thousands of boxes.[44] When first introduced, the portrait of Uncle Ben was placed over the entire front of the box, but in later years it was reduced to a small oval located on the upper right hand side. According to Henry Assael, in his book Consumer Behavior and Marketing Action, Uncle Ben's Converted Rice is purchased today by thirteen percent of Black families and twenty-three percent of White families.[45]

The aforementioned African-American characters and/or trademarks all were created to achieve the same purpose. That purpose was to present an image of African-Americans that would be similar to the subconscious concept which consumers had of African-Americans, as being good domestic workers and servants. Advertisers capitalized on this idea and subsequently were able to sell their products to the general public. This simply suggested that Black humor and domestic servitude helped to sell products in

America at that time. From the 1890's to the 1960's, the images of African-Americans in mainstream advertisements were a combination of fictional characters and real people who emulated those characters for American companies to promote their products and businesses. However, the profits for these companies came at a great cost to the popular image of African-Americans who were viewed in a stereotypical fashion.

Fortunately, these negative images did not go unchallenged. Over the past century, Black publications have played a major role in challenging the stereotypes and in supporting and promoting a positive image of the race through advertising. The supportive role of the Black press became increasingly noticeable around the turn of the century. At that time, most mainstream commercial publications portrayed African Americans in a stereotypical manner, which promoted a false image of African-Americans and their rich culture to the world. A number of Black publications were established by Black organizations and businesses to help to combat this false perception. These publications filled the void that African-Americans had experienced regarding the way they were depicted and represented in commercial publications. According to W. E. B. DuBois, the noted Black historian and sociologist, Blacks hungered to see themselves portrayed with dignity, affection, and with pride in America.[46] His belief was

echoed throughout the country in Black publications, as DuBois and other Black leaders of that day used the power of the pen to speak against the injustice of their people. In November of 1910, the National Association of Colored People (NAACP) published the first issue of Crisis Magazine. This extremely influential publication, edited by DuBois, was established by the NAACP to empower Black Americans and it became a major vehicle for the dissemination of information about various educational and social programs. From its inception, Crisis Magazine challenged mainstream publications by exposing the negative propaganda that these publications presented to the general public in the form of stereotypical advertisements, feature articles, and biased news stories. For example, an advertisement which appeared in the December, 1929, issue featured a picture of an African-American registered nurse as a promotion for Burrell Memorial Hospital in Roanoke, Virginia.[47] In the same issue another advertisement featured a photograph of a beautiful Black model dressed in expensive clothes at a promotion for Thurston's restaurant, a Black-owned establishment in Washington, D.C.[48] Such advertisements are just two examples of the kinds of positive images of Black Americans that were featured on a regular basis in the Crisis Magazine. In addition, Crisis Magazine addressed major issues about Blacks of that era which dealt with the lives of African-Americans in the social, economic, and

educational arenas. The magazine also served as an alternative voice for Black Americans. The magazine's editorials, news articles, and positive advertisements helped to inspire and empower Blacks. For example, DuBois denounced the famous movie Birth of a Nation, produced by D. W. Griffith, which portrayed African-Americans in a very negative manner.[49] Moreover, the magazine, through the years, addressed the overall treatment of Blacks with regard to their civil and basic human rights. Crisis Magazine quickly became the heartbeat and pulse of Black America by addressing, questioning, and advocating the rights of Black people in America. It is still published today by the NAACP and has a major influence in shaping the opinions of African-Americans. In no regard is this more true than in its advertisements, which have consistently portrayed African-Americans in a positive manner. These advertisements have shown Blacks as professionals in all walks of life; confident, proud, and intelligent people, an integral part of mainstream America.

In addition to Crisis Magazine, there were other influential African-American publications during the early 20th century. One of the most notable was The Negro World, published by Marcus Garvey. The primary focus of Garvey's newspaper was to heighten the consciousness of Blacks during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920's, through the process of preaching Black unity. In the process of preaching Black

unity, Garvey sought to instill a sense of pride, self-reliance, and self-worth in the Black community.

Garvey was a self-made businessman and publisher, who was a West Indian by birth and a revolutionary by disposition. Garvey dedicated his life to what he called the "uplifting" of the Negro peoples of the world through the creation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the African Communities League (ACL). Like Malcolm X of a later generation, he believed that Blacks could never achieve equality unless they became independent by founding their own nations and governments, and by establishing their own businesses and industrial enterprises. He also believed that his people needed to have their own military establishment by which other people of the world had risen to power.[50]

Garvey was apprenticed to a printer earlier in his life. While in his native country of Jamaica, he developed a private political organization called "The National Club" and began publishing an in-house magazine entitled, Our Own. Later, while studying the plight of Blacks in America, Garvey, in 1916, moved to the United States. This was where he developed the "Back to Africa" program for the resettlement of Black people in their ancestral homeland. He settled in New York City primarily because his ideas seemed to have attracted popular support from a growing Urban Black population, and with this basis of popular

support, he began publication of The Negro World. Garvey and his followers published numerous issues of The Negro World, and they distributed the newspaper to Black Americans all across the country.

The Negro World's advertisements, like those of the Crisis Magazine, reflected positive images of African-Americans. Garvey solicited Black-owned businesses to buy ads in his publications. The advertisements featured Black people in positive roles such as teachers, doctors, lawyers, brick masons, business owners, and members of a growing middle urban class. Garvey's paper was dubbed by the mainstream press as being a racial propaganda publication, but he stated that his paper was not published to appease White America, but to strengthen and elevate his people's image in the world. Garvey wanted his people to believe that Black was beautiful and this belief was reflected in various ways in his publication (for example, in his encouraging Black mothers to buy their daughters Black dolls to give them a positive self image). For Garvey, image was everything to his people, and his newspaper was an important voice for Black Americans from 1916 until 1925. Through its advertisements and hard hitting articles, it challenged mainstream publications by provoking thought and much needed discussion concerning the plight of Black people in the world. For example, an advertisement which appeared in a 1924 issue of The Negro World featured a picture of the

Black Cross Nurses parade. This particular advertisement was an annual promotion for the Black Cross Nurses organization. In the advertisement, the nurses wore white uniforms with matching shoes and gloves. This promotion was just one of many positive advertisements found in The Negro World.[51]

The National Urban League (NUL) was another important force in promoting positive images among African-Americans. The NUL was established in 1919 as an organization to help southern Black migrants to adjust to northern urban life and to find suitable employment. The organization soon evolved into a progressive force which quickly focused on the social and economic needs of Blacks. The primary focus of the NUL was to involve itself in the training of Black social workers, and to improve housing, health, sanitation, recreation, self-improvement, and job assistance for Blacks. A major goal of the NUL was to broaden economic opportunities for Blacks by using the techniques of persuasion and conciliation to open up doors that had been closed before.

The NUL published its own magazine entitled Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life. This magazine became a mainstay of what was known as "the Harlem Renaissance" of the 1920's, publishing almost every leading Black poet and writer of that day, such as Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, W. E. B. DuBois, James Weldon Johnson, and Countee Cullen.

The Opportunity magazine raised the consciousness of Black Americans through its poetry, thought provoking topics, and positive advertisements.

The advertisements found in this particular magazine parallel those of the Crisis Magazine and The Negro World. The facial expressions and basic appearance of the people featured in the ads were not exaggerated nor degrading. Instead, the people were shown as independent, intelligent individuals and mainstream professionals who displayed pride in their race. For example, an advertisement which appeared in the April, 1938 issue of the Opportunity magazine featured a picture of an African-American woman wearing graduation attire, holding a degree from Apex College in Washington, DC, with a headline stating, "Learn A Profession."[52] This ad is just one example of a positive advertisement policy which depicted African-Americans as being an integral part of mainstream America. Moreover, advertisements like this helped to dispel the myths and negative stereotypes that the mainstream press was reporting to the general public regarding Black Americans.

In an important article in the same year W.E.B. DuBois took up this issue with a trenchant attack on the editorial and advertising policies of the mainstream press. In the article DuBois argued the following:

> To keep the record clear it might be well to examine briefly the major adverse criticisms aimed at the American press in its treatment of news of Negroes.
> A murder story appears on a front page. A 'big,

> burly Negro,' it declares, is suspected. Over and over in that way Negroes are blamed for crimes which they have not necessarily committed. The prevalence of such phrases in stories of attempted rapes or other sex crimes is thought by critics of the press to be either a conscious attempt to discredit the black race or a tendency to over-sensationalize such material for the sake of sales.
>
> The white press is accused, therefore, of creating in the public mind the notion that there is a strong criminal tendency among Negroes. It gives the impression that a criminal is more likely to be a Negro than to belong to some other social group.
>
> Another corollary is the use of the word "Negro" in newspapers, a second problem area, particularly in crime stories, as a mark of identification which Negroes resent. They point out that editors do not indicate that a suspected criminal is red-haired or that he is an Italian or an Englishman.
>
> Only the unfavorable news of Negro citizens appears in the white press.

DuBois concluded that the advertising realm is the third target area of his criticism. He asserted that:

> In one city a weekly on a free circulation basis will not permit distribution in the Negro neighborhood. In another community certain advertisers will cancel their contracts if a newspaper has too large a circulation among Negroes. Elsewhere Negroes cannot place advertising in white papers. These are common instances from the files of groups interested in the welfare of the Negro race.[53]

This forum of rejection pointed out by DuBois demonstrated that Whites did not want Black businesses to advertise in their publications, any more than they wanted to portray unbiased views of African-Americans in their news coverage.

DuBois's argument was extremely accurate and speaks to the various forms of image discrimination practiced in various ways by the mainstream press. Among the most harmful were the stereotypical images in mainstream advertisements. From the latter part of the 1890's to 1940,

many advertisers used their imaginations to create fictional African-American characters to promote their products, later hiring real African-Americans to emulate these characters. Advertisers thus stigmatized the African-American community through this process by using fictional characters and real people in a stereotypical and demeaning manner.[54] However, against this trend, African-American magazines tried to uphold positive images of their people. Through positive images in advertising, as well as proactive news and editorial policy, publications such as Crisis Magazine, The Negro World, and Opportunity refuted stereotypical myths regarding Black Americans and promoted a new sense of racial pride.

During the 1940's, the upward trend continued as other prominent Black Americans addressed the negative portrayals of their people in the media. One of the most important of these was John H. Johnson, who established his own publishing company to combat negative images he was seeing in the mainstream publications. Johnson disclosed that he wanted to create magazines that would mirror the positive side of Black life and Black achievements in words and dramatic photographs. Johnson, like many other Black publishers and leaders, sought to refute what the mainstream publications were showing and saying about Black America. Johnson was determined to show that the writers of such publications did not know the true essence of Black people.

Furthermore, African-American publishing companies and organizations, such as the Johnson Publishing Company and the National Urban League, continued to flourish and published publications which tended to reflect a positive perspective of African-Americans.

Beginning in the 1940's, John H. Johnson, took his publications to local newsstands across America, which afforded members of the general public an opportunity to experience exposure to positive images of Black America.[55] Johnson's publications, Negro Digest and Ebony, reflected the beauty and real essence of African-Americans and at the same time, the publications instilled a sense of pride in Black people. Johnson used African-American models, successful entertainers, business professionals, and sports heroes to convey concepts of dignity, self-worth, and power through the use of positive and varied images in his publications.

Moreover, in the years that followed World War II, the images of African-Americans in mainstream culture began to change for the better. This positive change was due, in part, to the return of hundreds of proud African-American service men who began to demand their equal rights regarding better jobs, housing, and fair wages. Many of these men, before they entered the war, had been mostly farmers or manual laborers, but during World War II they learned

valuable technical skills which afforded them an opportunity to obtain other jobs in a growing work force.

In the years to come, federal legislation was enacted by Congress which afforded African-Americans an opportunity to obtain better jobs in some instances, with traditional, White-owned companies. A compilation of significant federal legislation enacted by Congress in the 1950's and 1960's regarding civil rights, helped to empower African-Americans in their fight to achieve equality under the law. Subsequently, these federal regulations helped African-Americans to obtain employment in other career areas which enabled some African-Americans to move from the boiler room to the board room. Moreover, the requirements of these regulations helped to create new business that had never existed in corporate America. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 prohibited discrimination in the use of public accommodations whose operations involved interstate commerce, and they provided enforcement remedies to ensure equal access to public facilities. Furthermore, these regulations prohibited racial discrimination in any program receiving federal aid, while also prohibiting discrimination in most areas of employment.[56] One outgrowth of this legislation was that African-Americans began moving into a variety of new arenas such as establishing their own advertising agencies. The Federal legislation of the 1950's and 1960's helped African-Americans to first obtain jobs in

White-owned businesses, and second to open their own advertising agencies.[57] Both positively impacted the industry and the images of Blacks.

In addition to the ongoing progress of the Civil Rights Movement, the decade of the 1950's and 1960's ushered in the systematic development of the television industry in America. Fred MacDonald, in his book entitled, Blacks and White TV, asserts that television gave African-Americans the opportunity and possibility to combat negative images in the mainstream press and society in general. Likewise, television offered a few well-known Black actors like Della Reese and Nat King Cole jobs in front of the television camera as host of their own television shows. For instance, The "Nat King Cole" show made its premier on NBC on November 5, 1956 and it opened a new era for Black performers in the industry. In addition, Blacks were able to obtain jobs behind the scene as production understudies at some television stations.

Touched by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, television slowly, but undeniably, evolved toward a fairer treatment of Blacks, yet even here, television was not without significant failings. For example, The "Amos 'N Andy" television show, which had been popular on radio, was found to be very offensive by Blacks when it premiered in 1951 on the CBS network. The NAACP sent a resolution to the CBS television network demanding them to cancel the show.

As a result, the show was only produced two seasons from 1951 to 1953. After much continued criticism from the Black community and some White concerned viewers, CBS agreed in 1966 to withdraw the program from circulation. However, the impact of the series lasted far beyond its original run.

Fortunately, however, between 1965 and 1995, the country witnessed more positive changes in the image of African-Americans in the television industry. Television shows such as "Julia," "I Spy," "Soul Train," "Fat Albert," "The Flip Wilson Show," "The Jeffersons," "Amen," "The Cosby Show," "A Different World," and "The Fresh Prince of Bel Aire," ushered in new attitudes on the part of producers and advertisers toward the image of African-Americans.[58] Even though some of these shows have been criticized because of the content and questionable depiction exhibited by some of the characters, mainstream advertisers saw that money could be made by capitalizing on a new type of African-American image. Blacks were being no longer perceived as being just symbols, trademarks, and domestic workers. Instead, they were gradually coming to be perceived by members of the general public as individuals who displayed intelligence, beauty, self-worth, and pride. Through the help of Black publications and their leaders, African-Americans demonstrated that they had a great deal to offer the world in every facet, and that world also included the advertising industry. By the end of the 1980's, African-American

entertainers and athletes, including Michael Jackson, Bill Cosby, O. J. Simpson, Whitney Houston, and Michael Jordan could be seen, on a weekly basis, in hundreds of advertisements and commercials endorsing products for multi-million dollar companies.[59]

Although much progress has been made over the past twenty years in the advertising industry regarding the images of African-Americans, there are still subtle, and sometimes, even overt examples of stereotypical images in advertising involving Blacks in recent times. An article published in the Media Studies Journal, by Audrey Edwards in 1993, focused attention on the negative impact of images presented by the mass media of African-Americans, especially women. Edwards reported the following:

> The medium is not only the message, it shapes the image, and four of the most powerful media in the last half of the twentieth century -- television, advertising, music videos, and the press itself -- have exerted the greatest impact on how Black women not only are seen, but have come to view themselves. The message and the image haven't changed much during the Black women's history in America. Both perpetuate the stereotypes.[60]

In addition to heated debate and criticism surrounding the negative image of Blacks in the mainstream, Oprah Winfrey was outraged in 1986 when "Saturday Night Live" producer Lorne Michaels wanted her to open the show with a comical sketch in which she was to play Aunt Jemima about to be laid off from the Quaker Oats Company. According to Edwards, Winfrey refused to play the part and

instead opted to open the show with a sketch that showed her getting into an argument with Michaels over the demeaning skit. Edwards further disclosed that the "Saturday Night Live" skit involving Winfrey basically reinforced the notion, that regardless of how much fame, money, or prestige an African-American women gets, in the end it appears that she is still, to some narrow-minded people, but yet another Aunt Jemima.[61] Edwards concluded that at the time of the "Saturday Night Live" episode with Winfrey, People magazine had reported that Winfrey had earned in excess of $11 million dollars that year.

Similarly, the findings of a study conducted in 1992 by Nancy Hass, published in the article, "Logos: Brands Trying To Loose Stereotypes," confirmed the findings of Audrey Edwards. Nancy Hass showed that as a symbol, Aunt Jemima has alienated some African-American consumers because they feared that if they purchase the products, they are in essence perpetuating the stereotype and thus reinforcing all of the negative images in which the company portrays. In the process of reporting the change that Aunt Jemima's image underwent in 1989, Hass observed that social groups called for the abolition of such advertising product logos as Aunt Jemima and the Cream of Wheat chef (Rastus) because they still carry subservient connotations despite all changes.[62]

In recent years in an effort to make the symbol more acceptable to African-Americans, the Quaker Oats Company has taken some important steps to distance the Aunt Jemima brand from racial stereotypes and slavery symbolism. For example, in April of 1989, one hundred years after the concept had begun, the company modified the Aunt Jemima character's image by making the women portrayed look thinner and more modern. They further decided to get rid of her much criticized bandanna. Fred Brown, in the article "Collecting African-American Images," postulates that the image of Aunt Jemima had been altered twenty-one years earlier, but the change was quite dramatic. Fred Brown concluded that Aunt Jemima's headband was traded in for soft, gray-streaked hair, and the Quaker Oats officials gave her a more contemporary look by showing her wearing pearl earrings and a dainty lace collar.[63] The Quaker Oats Company simply made these changes to ward off critical attacks from the Black community.

Along similar lines, an article appeared in the February, 1995 issue of USA Today that focused on the negative image of the Aunt Jemima character. The article stated that pop singer Gladys Knight had been subjected to criticism regarding her latest job as spokeswoman for the Aunt Jemima lite syrup product. Also, the Quaker Oats Company has been subjected to increased criticism regarding the display of Aunt Jemima. Similarly, Kern-Foxworth in her

article "Knight Defends Role In Aunt Jemima Syrup Ads," states that the name Aunt Jemima should be the next thing to be eliminated from the product label. She also felt that Gladys Knight's endorsement of the Aunt Jemima syrup product is very problematic, since a famous Black singer is perpetuating the stereotypes in the commercial that have long been associated with the trademark of the company. The article concludes that the Quaker Oats Company only used Gladys Knight as an attempt to buffer the negative publicity of the past.

In response to her critics, Gladys Knight defended her actions in an exclusive interview in December of 1995 on the Black Entertainment Television network. Knight was a special guest on BET's "Our Voices" talk show. Knight stated that she did not understand what all of the criticism was about, because she and her family had been using Aunt Jemima products for years. Knight explained that she only agreed to endorse the Aunt Jemima lite syrup because it was a good product. Finally, Knight ended the interview by saying, "People need to lighten up." During the early part of 1995, Knight also appeared on Tom Synder's CNBC talk show to defend her actions. To this end, despite criticism, Gladys Knight is still the spokeswoman for the Aunt Jemima lite syrup product.[64]

In the 1990's, the images of African-Americans are more positive and are changing the way in which advertisers

promote their products. In fact, a new trend in advertising is the use of African-American, non-celebrities by advertisers to promote their products. AT&T and Coke are two companies currently employing this tactic. For example, at the time of writing of this dissertation, Coke has been showing a commercial which features a young African-American man getting on a public transportation bus singing the coke theme.[65] This appears to be an example of the wave of the future for African-Americans in advertising.

In summary we can see that the interaction of African-Americans and the advertising industry has gone through many changes over the last century. In the 1890's American companies developed fictional characters like Aunt Jemima, Sambo, and Rastus to be displayed on their product labels to promote their products. However, such fictional characters were attacked early on by Black groups like the NAACP, which worked to reverse the adverse impact that these negative images were having on Black Americans. Also, the Black press exercised its authority by using the power of the pen, as well as more positive advertising images, to combat the negative images of Blacks in the mainstream media.

By the 1950's the television era began to provide an avenue for Blacks to change their cultural image -- small gains in the beginning, but increasing through the subsequent decades. In addition, Black publications like

Ebony continued to expose the general public to positive images and messages about Black Americans.

From 1970 to 1985, Blacks could be seen in hundreds of advertisements as product endorsers for companies. Unlike the fictitious characters like Aunt Jemima, the modern Black product endorsers portrayed positive images of Black people. Many of these individuals were well-known Black celebrities such as Michael Jackson and Bill Cosby. Although company executives hired Black celebrities as product endorsers primarily because of their mass consumer market appeal, their positive portrayal of their race was an important added dimension to the image of Blacks.

By the 1990's a new trend in advertising was beginning to be employed by some major companies -- for example, AT&T and Coca-Cola. These companies began to hire African-American non-celebrities to promote their products to the general consumer market. While it is hard to tell if this will be a future trend regarding the use of Blacks in advertising, it is nonetheless a positive step forward.

NOTES

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[31]Marquette, Brands, Trademarks And Goodwill: The Story Of The Quaker Oats Company, 1982, 147.

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CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT AND ADVANCEMENT OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN CONSUMER MARKET, 1900 - 1995

The late 1800's and the early 1900's witnessed an increased emphasis on "Jim Crow" laws in American society. The "Jim Crow" laws established the color line by legalizing the most stringent segregation of the races. This color line suggested that African-Americans were second class citizens and thus were not equal to or worthy of associating with Euro-Americans. In fact, the outcome of the Supreme Court case, Plessy vs. Ferguson decided in 1896, provided federal endorsement of well-established "Jim Crow" doctrines, mandating separate dining, residential areas, schools, and the like for Euro-Americans and African-Americans.

The profound implications of this sweeping landmark Supreme Court decision had a significant impact on every aspect of consumer life. This decision greatly affected African-American consumers because they most often were denied basic access to public accommodations in the mainstream society. The Plessy vs. Ferguson ruling determined that African-Americans were banned from White

hotels, barber shops, restaurants, theaters, public schools, and other such public accommodations, and forced them to go to African-American-owned enterprises to be served fully.[1]

Ultimately, the "Jim Crow" laws precipitated the Civil Rights incident that involved a Montgomery, Alabama, seamstress named Rosa Parks. On December 1, 1955 Parks decided that because she was tired she would not give up her seat on a bus to a White man. Her action violated the law.[2]

Years before the Montgomery incident, a few Euro-Americans and a number of African-American leaders believed that because of the hostile racial climate, African-Americans needed to establish their own businesses to enhance the survival of their race. For example, in the year 1900, Booker T. Washington argued that Negro business must be stimulated and upgraded. In an effort to enhance and stimulate the development of more Negro businesses, Washington called a group of African-American businessmen together in Boston and organized the National Negro Business League. According to John Hope Franklin in his From Slavery To Freedom, more than four hundred delegates came from thirty-four states and elected Washington as their president.[3] As a means of building and strengthening the Black community, Washington urged that a greater number of Blacks enter various business fields.

Following the lead of Washington and the National Negro Business League, a number of African-American entrepreneurs began to plan, organize, and develop strategies to establish various businesses in their communities. Some of these Black-owned establishments included banks, insurance companies, funeral homes, beauty shops, barber shops, and various "mom and pop" restaurants. Moreover, prominent African-American entrepreneurs such as Madame C.J. Walker, Anthony Overton, Annie Turnbo Malone, Sarah Spencer Washington, Alonzo Franklin Herndon, Charles Clinton Spaulding, Richard R. Wright, and John Merrick, to name a few, were able to build successful businesses in the Black community within the "Jim Crow" system.[4] These and other hard working African-American business men and women helped to develop a unique African-American consumer market.

Although Blacks could purchase items in White-owned stores, they were often subjected to discriminatory practices. Black consumers often had to enter White establishments through the back or side entrances to be served and often they were not treated with respect nor integrity. In some instances, they were not served at all. In Black Bourgeoisie, Franklin Frazier maintained that White-owned businesses did not perceive any worth in Black dollars. In some instances, the Black consumer was perceived by White business owners as being a financial risk. However, what many White business owners failed to

realize, at that time, was that money received from Black consumers had the same financial value as that of White consumers.[5] As a result, African-Americans, regardless of their social class status -- elite, middle, or working, had to spend the majority of their earnings at African-American establishments.

Given the prevalence of the "Jim Crow" laws in American society, African-Americans began to rely on Black businesses for many of their daily needs. In the process of organizing their businesses, African-American entrepreneurs developed marketing and advertising strategies which in turn increased the sale of their products and the promotion of their business.

In their initial marketing strategies, African-American business owners developed their own advertisements. Many successfully used friends and family members in their promotional materials.[6] For example, some of the strategies and techniques included the creation of printed advertisements and calendars. These advertisements were created by Black businesses to entice and convince Black consumers to trust and support Black establishments in their communities. Many of these advertisements used lifestyle appeal techniques which placed great emphasis on the Black family, the importance of self-help and the building of the Black community. In addition, these advertisements used the theme of Black pride and the dream of a better life for

Blacks in America. Thus, these advertisements helped to paint a mental image in the minds of Black consumers that Black businesses were an acceptable alternative to White-owned businesses.

According to John Sibley Butler, in his book Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans, Black businesses had to convince Black consumers to take a chance and shop at Black-owned establishments. This was because Blacks had been conditioned over the years by mainstream America to believe that buying from White merchants was better than buying from Black merchants. Blacks felt that they could not trust their own banks, insurance companies or Black businesses in general.[7] As a result, Black business owners had to earn the trust of their own people. This was carried out through the process of educating Black consumers that by supporting Black businesses they were in essence building and strengthening their own communities.

To this end, African-American businesses most often served Black consumers, which ultimately led to the development of the African-American consumer market in America. Although a consumer market which existed under a cloud of segregation for African-Americans, Black businesses, through advertising their products in the Black press and in Black organizational publications such as Crisis Magazine, helped to strengthen the African-American

consumer market and to create a higher standard of living for their people to follow and aspire.[8]

During the early part of the twentieth century, a few African-American entrepreneurs used advertising and word-of-mouth promotions to sell their products in their communities. For example, hair and skin care businesses were some of the fastest growing in the Black community.[9] During that time period, positive advertisements of African-American women and men were displayed on the walls of Black beauty and barber shops in the North, as well as the South. Some of these advertisements depicted Black women getting their hair pressed, such as those at the Madame C.J. Walker's College of Beauty in Indianapolis, Indiana. Other ads, including ads at Anthony Overton's Company, which was located in Chicago, Illinois, portrayed Black men getting their hair and face groomed with the latest shaving and processing creams. Indeed, the hair and skin care business became an avenue for African-Americans to become independent, and, in some cases, very successful. The demand for such services was created in part by advertising by Black-owned businesses as well as by a change in attitude among African-Americans after the Civil War. In her article on the subject, Kathy Peiss suggests that during the post Civil War era, grooming, stylishness and adornment were ideals that signified freedom and respectability among the African-Americans in the United States and especially in the

northern section of the country. This trend continued well into the twentieth century. Peiss further notes that African-American women of that era excelled in the beauty industry, mainly because the beauty industry offered new employment opportunities for the African-American female.[10] Because of Jim Crowism, a great number of African-American women had to settle for domestic service jobs until the enactment of Civil Rights legislation later on in the twentieth century. However, the beauty industry offered Black women an alternative to domestic laboring jobs.

Initially, hardworking African-American women, like Annie Turnbo Malone and Walker, who sought to market and sell their products to African-Americans, had to work out of their homes. These young entrepreneurs mixed various chemicals and compounds together in their kitchens to perfect their hair and skin care products. As a next step, they used advertising to promote their products to the African-American consumer market. During the early 1900's such advertising was generally limited to African-American owned newspapers, which featured advertisements for African clothes, hair and skin care products, along with an array of other products suited to needs of Blacks. Later, companies like The Madame C.J. Walker College of Beauty and Poro, Malone's Company, were able to purchase space in various White-owned newspapers across the country. Subsequently,

the continued expansion of these African-American owned companies in other parts of the nation created a kind of national advertising network for African-American products.

The most successful African-American hair and skin care advertiser during this era was indeed Madame C.J. Walker. Walker was a business woman, philanthropist, and an outstanding inventor. In addition, Walker is reported as being the first self-made female millionaire in America. Walker's company sent hundreds of hair care agents into the field to promote her beauty care products. Walker's door-to-door selling technique and quality products made her the most successful African-American advertiser of her time.[11]

From 1908 to early 1910, Walker and her family operated a number of beauty parlors across the country in addition to two beauty schools: Lelia College headquartered in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Madame C.J. Walker's College of Beauty in Indianapolis. The primary purpose of the colleges was to train Black women and men to become independent business operators in their respective communities.[12] In addition, Madame C.J. Walker's College of Beauty had off-campus sites. Some of these sites were located in New York; Washington, DC; St. Louis, Missouri; Austin, Texas; Tulsa, Oklahoma; and Baltimore, Maryland.[13] Although Lelia College was a separate institution, it was named for Madame Walker's daughter A'Lelia, whom Madame Walker wanted to preside over the institution.

At Lelia College and Walker School of Beauty, students learned a philosophy of inner and outer beauty. They also developed sales techniques in their salons to pamper their clients. Peiss states that Walker is credited as the inventor of the "hot comb" or steel straightening comb, but in reality, Walker just adapted the metal combs and curling irons, popularized by the French, to suit African-American women's hair. Walker considered her hot combing method more natural and a great improvement over her competitors' brands.[14]

Madame C.J. Walker relied heavily on advertising in the print media as well as word-of-mouth communication to sell her hair and skin products. For example, Madame Walker created her own advertisements within her college. These advertisements displayed Black women and men modeling the latest hairstyles and promoting Madame Walker's exclusive line of hair and skin care products for Blacks. She even created a small sales and advertising design department in her schools. Many of these hair and skin care advertisements reflected strong, handsome images of Madame Walker's sales people, which had a lasting impact on many Black Americans. Madame Walker also sent hundreds of sales people from door-to-door selling and demonstrating her products. Her sales personnel would leave free product samples with prospective customers to further entice them to buy Madame Walker's hair and skin care items, along with

brochures and flyers which further promoted Madame Walker's products, schools, and beauty salons across the country.[15]

Madame C.J. Walker's manufacturing company created a line of beauty care products which revolutionized the way African-Americans viewed themselves in relation to people of other ethnic groups. Beauty culture in the early twentieth century was viewed by African-Americans as a path toward individual mobility and also as a means of collective economic and social advancement. This social and economic advancement impacted the Black consumer market in a major way because businesses like Walker's, Malone's and others kept much of the money generated by Black consumers in the Black community, thus helping to build a strong Black consumer market base.

Both Malone and Walker were known as women who reflected positive images of their people through the use of advertising and in the process they managed to build very successful empires in the beauty industry. Their efforts ultimately helped to build the African-American consumer market during the reign of segregation in American society. These women, through their hard work and business acumen, prompted other Black women and men to become independent business owners. In addition, they preached a philosophy of self-help to their people. As business women, they appealed to women as workers and consumers to take control of their future and to challenge the stereotypes that limited them.

The extraordinary growth of their industry suggests that beauty culture had great meaning for African-American women and men, as they generated new self-definitions and collective responses to decades of abuse, poverty, and discrimination. Advertising, thus along with a growing African-American consumer market, became an important means of fighting the mainstream establishment of that day.[16]

In addition to hair and skin care companies, by the 1920's and 1930's, African-Americans were also engaged in numerous types and sizes of businesses. They operated grocery stores, general merchandise stores, and drug stores; they were restaurant keepers, caterers, confectioners, bakers, tailors, builders, and contractors. Historian John Hope Franklin documents the operation by African-Americans of shirt factories, cotton mills, rubber goods shops, lumber mills, and carpet factories. In addition, there were many cooperative businesses, such as the Bay Shore Hotel Company of Hampton, Virginia; the Capital Trust Company of Jacksonville, Florida; the South View Cemetery Association of Atlanta, Georgia; the Southern Stove Hollow-Ware and Foundry Company of Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Foundry Company of Chattanooga, Tennessee. These and other African-American companies helped to initiate an economic foundation for Black consumers during the 1920's and into the Great Depression years. The Black community as a whole was urged to build schools, banks, and other necessary establishments

to keep the majority of their money in their own community.[17]

Harry Ploski, the author of The Negro Almanac, has shown that most leading Black-owned insurance companies were members of the National Negro Insurance Association (NIA) which was first organized in 1921 by a group of nine men, headed by business pioneer C.C. Spaulding. The permanent association was later formed at a meeting of sixty insurance men representing thirteen companies. The original purpose of the NIA was to raise the standards and practices of participating members, and to build confidence in insurance companies owned and controlled by African-Americans. Ploski also notes that the impetus for the development of Black-owned insurance companies came from the growing reluctance on the part of White companies to insure Black citizens during the reign of "Jim Crow" regulations.[18]

John Hope Franklin has asserted that due to gradual growth of Black enterprises in a racially segregated society, it became important for Blacks to own their own financial and funding institutions. He also maintained that there were a number of Black-owned insurance companies that filled the financial and insurance void for the African-American consumer market from the turn of the century to the present day. Some of the companies included North Carolina Mutual Life, Atlanta Life, The Supreme Life Insurance of

Chicago, and the Pilgrim Health and Life Insurance Company, to name the most successful of these firms.[19]

Butler, in his study of African-American entrepreneurship, notes that by 1932, African-Americans had established an insurance industry which was well-organized and functional for the community. In fact, Black insurance companies provided much needed jobs and opportunities for Black people who were interested in working in the insurance field. Although some White insurance companies hired Blacks to work for them, they however, were often fired after a few years of service. Thus, with no real opportunity available in White insurance companies, Blacks, according to Butler, tended to work exclusively for Black-owned companies. By 1937, there were more than 9,000 persons employed by the industry.

As the years passed, these self-help, protection, and savings institutions began to increase. In 1947, there were a total of 211 insurance companies (not all members of the National Negro Insurance Association) exclusively owned by Black Americans. Butler cites that in these companies, the group had a total of 5,213,259 policies in force, an increase of 37.6 percent over 1945 (no doubt due to the return home of thousands of Black servicemen). From 1945 through the 1950's, Black insurance companies such as Atlanta Life and North Carolina Mutual Life could boast about their success in the Black community. These and other

successful Black companies helped to support Black colleges, schools, and churches, while they helped to further develop and advance the Black consumer market in America.[20]

During the 1950's, the Civil Rights Movement challenged the laws designed to maintain racial separation and inequality. As a result of this movement, progress was made especially for those individual Black Americans who were prepared educationally to take advantage of developing opportunities. In the mist of this movement, a "silent revolution" in Black entrepreneurship began to take place, as some members of the Black community filtered settled into corporate America and into jobs from which they had been historically excluded, while others turned to the development of business enterprise.

An unfortunate but perhaps inevitable side-effect was the impact on the Black insurance industry. Today, Black-owned insurance companies are struggling just to make ends meet, due to competition from White-owned insurance companies. Many of these White-owned companies have employed Black salespersons to target Black consumers. In addition, these larger insurance agencies can afford to offer their clientele more benefits and incentives which appear to be very appealing to Black consumers.

Although these Black insurance firms will never be able to hire as many Black Americans to help promote a Black American economy as they had done in the past, they are in

the tradition of enterprises developed by members of a group which has been historically oppressed. As Weber noted in The Protestant Ethnic and the Spirit of Capitalism, "throughout history selected members of oppressed groups have always turned to business enterprise as a way of adapting to oppressive conditions.[21]

In addition to the growth and success of Black insurance companies from the early 1900's to the Civil Rights Movement, Black-owned banks began to grow during the 1920's. In 1926, the National Negro Bankers Association came into being, with Richard R.R. Wright serving as its first president. Black-owned banks were developed, similar to Black-owned insurance companies, growing largely out of the "Separate But Equal" Doctrine. African-Americans were constantly denied loans at White-owned institutions. As a result, they worked to establish their own banks and savings and loan companies. The establishment of Black-owned banks further developed the African-American consumer market and allowed African-Americans to learn the value of saving their earnings. At the same time that their money drew interest, it helped also to strengthen their communities.

African-American businesses, from the turn of the century through the 1930's, were able to channel funding, especially during the Depression years, to orphanages, rest homes, hospitals, and sanitariums in their communities. In addition, African-American business professionals developed

and nurtured what we know today as the African-American consumer market. African-American business professionals helped to develop the Black consumer market because they were in essence the Black middle class. These individuals were educated, financially stable, socially conscious individuals who hungered for full equality. Some were outspoken leaders of change in their respective communities, while others were strong, but silent, advocates for the Black community.

African-American businesses used advertising to expose their people to a whole new world of products, job opportunities, higher education options, and financial stability at a time when these necessities appeared to be so far away for their people. Businesses such as North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, both located in North Carolina, and the Johnson Publishing Company, of Chicago, to name a few, were able to create a demand in the Black community for their products and services through the process of advertising. Black businesses created company calendars, posters, and printed newspaper and magazine ads to convince Black America to take stock in their own community.[22] Dorothy Cohen, author of Advertising, reveals that advertising's aim is to entice people to buy things that they think they need to have not necessarily what they need for survival; like food, water, and shelter. Advertising, in a sense, tries to cater

to the wants and likes of people.[23] For example, if a person is in the market to buy a new car, that individual may only need basic transportation to get from point A to point B. However, the automobile industry will create car advertisements which imply that a hard working individual is entitled to luxury, comfort, and style in a car. In addition, these advertisements also try to imply that a particular automobile may even represent a status or social class symbol.

During the 1940's with the advent of World War II, the African-American consumer market began to take on a new and interesting direction for Black Americans. This new direction was precipitated by the enlistment of approximately three million Black service men in the United States military. In accordance with military rules, Black soldiers and White soldiers trained and resided in separate quarters. In addition, Black men had to dine in facilities that were separate from their White counterparts. However, despite such restrictions, during their tenure in the United States Armed Forces most of these Black soldiers learned valuable skills which afforded them an opportunity to seek better paying jobs after the war.

The end of World War II prompted many African-American veterans to apply the technical skills that they had learned in the military to enhance their own occupational aspirations. In the process of formulating

their career goals, these veterans soon realized that mainstream America still viewed and treated them as second-class citizens, even though they had risked their lives while defending their country. To this end, some of these proud veterans fought against the odds by starting their own businesses; others worked with Black organizations, like NAACP and the National Urban League, to create better job opportunities for themselves and their people. These organizations began to press more vigorously for full equality for Blacks by getting the vote as well as seeking re-enfranchisement. They were effectively assisted locally and nationally by numerous groups, many of them new, but some quite old, including political organizations, civic, labor, and religious groups, and fraternal organizations. The courts increasingly took cognizance of racial issues and frequently ruled in favor of equality, as in the case of the Fair Employment Practice Commission (FEPC). This governmental agency, which was established during the 1940's, increased the number of Blacks in government service and in war industries.[24] Moreover, the executive branch of the federal government, which appeared to be sensitive at that time to both domestic and foreign pressures, exerted considerable influence in eradicating the gap between creed and practice in American democracy. The interaction of these forces gradually created a better place for African-

Americans as the nation moved into the second half of the twentieth century.

Historian John Hope Franklin shows that in several significant ways President Harry S. Truman, during his time in the Oval Office, contributed to the creation of a climate in which the status of Black Americans could be improved. For example, in 1946 he appointed a committee of distinguished Black and White Americans to inquire into the condition of civil rights and to make recommendations for their improvement. The report that was produced by the committee entitled, "To Secure These Rights," strongly denounced the denial of civil rights to some Americans, and it called for a positive program to strengthen civil rights, including "the elimination of segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin from American life."[25] In that same year the president appointed another interracial committee to look into the problem of higher education. According to Franklin, in its report, the committee recommended the abandonment of all forms of discrimination in higher education. In 1948, President Truman appointed another committee to study the issue of obtaining equality for all Americans. In its report entitled, "Freedom to Serve," the committee included a blueprint of the steps by which integration was to be achieved. Acting on the recommendations of the committee, the United States Army adopted a new law in 1948 which

opened all jobs to qualified personnel without regard to race or color and it abolished the racial quota.

Federal legislation during the 1940's, such as the Fair Employment Practices Act (Executive Order 8802 signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt on June 25, 1941), made a major impact on the African-American consumer market.[26] Executive order 8802 basically forbade discrimination in government and defense job hiring and Roosevelt established a Fair Employment practices Commission to enforce the act. This was the first of several anti-discrimination orders that were to be issued periodically into the 1960's. In fact, it was the first significant step by the government to reduce discrimination in the hiring of minorities.

Roosevelt's order, of course, did not eliminate discrimination, but it did reduce it and it set a precedent for ensuring governmental action against employment barriers.[27] Such legislation helped Blacks to obtain some jobs in areas of employment that were not possible for them before these laws were enacted. As a result, the purchasing power of Blacks increased.

All of what had happened before the 1940's in the way of improving the images of African-Americans in mainstream publications, and in society in general, gradually began to change with the establishment of a new African-American consumer market. This new Black consumer market was ushered in by new Black businesses during the

1940's and 1950's such as Grimes Oil Company, the Johnson Publishing Company, and Bronner Brothers. Companies like Johnson Publishing and Bronner Brothers provided the catalyst that set the new Black consumer market into action, with the creation of mainstream Afro-centric products and publications.

Despite the existing laws of segregation, John H. Johnson, founder and CEO of the Johnson Publishing Company (JPC) that established Negro Digest, Ebony, and Jet Magazine, maintained that Black Americans needed to be an integral part of mainstream America. Subsequently, he created Black-oriented magazines to sell to the general public. In an effort to maximize sales of his magazines, he took his Afro-centric publications to local newsstands across America, which afforded members of the general public an opportunity to experience instant exposure to more positive images of the Black American culture.[28] Johnson's publications were extremely important to African-American consumers because these magazines afforded them an opportunity to view positive advertisements of themselves. It also allowed them to read in-depth, thought-provoking articles and editorials regarding their past, current, and future status in America.

Many of the images that were portrayed in Johnson's publications helped Black Americans to realize their own economic potential. Because they were able to read success

stories about other Black professionals, they were better able to visualize themselves making achievements socially and economically. Johnson's magazines displayed images of attractive African-American models, successful Black entertainers, Black business professionals, and sports heroes which were designed to convey and instill feelings of self-worth, power, and pride.

In an effort to make his publications an integral part of mainstream America, Johnson solicited both Black and White businesses to buy advertising space in his magazines. He especially encouraged Black businesses to advertise in his publications because their products and or companies would gain national exposure in a relatively short period of time. In 1947, Johnson Publishing Company launched its crusade to open corporate America's eyes to the viability of the African-American consumer market. According to Johnson, it was very difficult to convince prospective advertisers during the late 1940's that there was money to be made in the African-American community. Johnson explained that as far back as 1947, when scarcely an ad featuring or appealing to African-Americans could be found in any medium, he was continuously writing in Ebony's editorial column about the enormity of the market and the boom that could be reaped by any advertiser smart enough to target it.

After carefully asserting and reaching out to the African-American consumer market during the 1940's and

1950's, Johnson Publishing Company continued to work in the 1960's and 1970's to change Madison Avenue's marketing technique to the African-American community.[29] Johnson Publishing Company's executives argued that African-Americans, like any other consumer group, would be more receptive to advertisements featuring models with whom they could identify. The Johnson Company's sales force convinced some advertisers to run test ads in Ebony and Life magazine, using African-American models and Caucasian models in the respective publications.[30] Repeatedly, ads featuring African-Americans tested better with African-American consumers, and as a result, more ads featuring African-Americans were developed.

The success of this and other tests not only was of benefit to JPC, but had far reaching impact throughout the African-American community. For the first time, jobs were created for African-American advertising specialists, models, and corporate spokesmen. As a result, in the decades of the 1960's through the 1980's, opportunities were opened for African-American entrepreneurs who subsequently launched advertising firms, public relation firms, and modeling agencies.[31]

In today's society, retailers and advertising agencies are currently scrambling to find ways to appeal to African-American consumers. So much is this so that one might assume that corporate America's belief in the value

and vitality of that market segment is deeply rooted. However, in the comparatively unenlightened age in which Johnson Publishing Company was launched, the notion that African-American consumers were worth the time and attention of White advertisers was revolutionary. According to Johnson, he made the effort to demonstrate that African-Americans not only shopped, but were also discriminating, status-conscious consumers who, on the average, purchase more name brand, top-of-the-line products than their White counterparts.

The pioneering efforts of Johnson's company resulted in the "discovery" of what some marketing experts called a new type of African-American consumer market in America. This new consumer market was composed of the Black middle class. Johnson and his company executives helped to target, and develop, a deep and wide pool of consumers, who had money to spend on good quality items.[32]

While Johnson was introducing mainstream America to the African-American consumer market, the society at large was undergoing significant changes. During the mid 1950's through the 1960's, the Civil Rights Movement that helped to bring about additional changes in the way African-Americans were treated under the law also had a great impact on the African-American consumer market. This impact was reflected in the enactment of federal, state, and local laws which ended segregation in America and continued to break down

racial, economic, and social barriers that had existed for years. Federal legislation relative to the 1957, 1960, and 1964 Civil Rights Acts basically prohibited discrimination in the use of public accommodations whose operations involved interstate commerce, and these same acts provided enforcement remedies to ensure equal access to public facilities. Furthermore, these regulations prohibited racial discrimination in any program receiving federal aid, and also prohibited discrimination in most areas of employment. African-Americans were thus enabled to obtain better jobs and demand higher wagers which, in turn, afforded them the opportunity to have more commercial buying power in America.

Similarly, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 further impacted the African-American consumer market, through the process of giving Blacks the legal rights and protection under the law to vote on issues which affected their lives.[33] The Voting Rights Act was an outgrowth of the protest demonstrations against discriminatory voter registration practices in several southern states. From an economic perspective, these federal laws gave African-Americans the legal right to become full partners in America's economy.[34]

But although the 1960's saw important gains for Blacks, there also continued to be racial limitations. In the advertising industry for a Black person to be accepted

as suitable for promotional purposes he or she had to have facial features that closely resembled those of Whites.

Parke D. Gibson in his book The 30 Billion Dollar Negro points out that Madison Avenue and Wall Street responded to civil rights pressure by throwing in one or two Black/mulatto models with features that closely paralleled that of White models in their television and printed advertisements. But, at least, this was a beginning for integrated advertising in America. Blacks were seen holding boxes of "Tide" detergent and proclaiming, "I've got ring around the collar," saying that "Maxwell House Coffee was good to the last drop," and "Choosy mothers choose Jif."

The initial progress was a sort that indicated that there were still racial barriers that needed to be torn down. First, Blacks were not readily accepted in the mainstream cosmetic and fashion industry. Second, there were no major Black models for clothing designers in the country. Third, cosmetic advertisements in the mainstream society were generally created for White women. Black models also often had a difficult time breaking through racial barriers. For example, when Black models would apply for modeling or cosmetic jobs at White-owned companies, they were told that they were either too dark or not dark enough. Thus, it was very rare to see Black models telling us that "Gentlemen prefer Hanes."[35] Although there were some Black women who were able to work in the advertising

industry as models, more often than not, "the Black model, like many other successful Blacks, struggled for many years in a society that chose to ignore her."[36] Unless they were hired by Black magazines like Ebony, they generally could not find work. For many years, advertisers shied away from using Black models, particularly in advertisements for cosmetics and health and beauty aids. This marketing strategy was employed because White advertisers did not want to risk offending White consumers. Thus, Black women almost never saw themselves reflected in marketing companies for national beauty products.

These and other restrictions toward Blacks led organizations like Operation Push to threaten and boycott companies for their insensitivity toward Blacks. For example, such groups opposed companies that only used light complexioned Black models in advertising. These groups felt that since Black people represented a wide range of skin tones that a more pluralistic image should be reflected in advertising. The organizations also worked to increase the prominence of Blacks in advertising, by demanding to see more representation of Black men and women in television and advertisements.[37] In an effort to bring about change, Operation Push, the NAACP, and other concerned groups gained support from the American Association of Advertising and the New York City Labor Department. These organizations pressured the nation's major corporations, such as

Bloomingdale's, Neiman Marcus, and Gimbels to run print and broadcast ads featuring Black models of all skin tones and to increase the frequency of these types ads.

This achievement regarding the frequency and portrayal of Blacks in advertising had however, some negative consequences. Black businesses such as Fashion Fair Cosmetics began to feel the economic pressure of competition from White-owned establishments, which began to specifically target the Black consumer market. As a result of being marketed and segmented by White-owned businesses, Black consumers began to spend more of their earnings at White-owned establishments. Some of these businesses developed special markets specifically for Black consumers. For example, Revlon developed a hair perm specifically for Black women. This was a good marketing strategy for Revlon but it spelled financial trouble for Black hair care companies like Johnson Products, the maker of Ultra Sheen hair care products. This marketing shift in the advertising industry caused a number of Black businesses to cut back or downsize their establishments just to stay in business.

With the advent of integrated advertising, there were more and more Blacks seen on television telling consumers to buy this or that product. The honeymoon, however, was short lived because as Gibson points out, old stereotypical subtleties began to slowly creep into integrated advertising, suggesting that the more things

changed in America, the more they remained the same. The use of stereotypical subtleties on the part of some White advertising executives resulted in the development of a distorted, and sometimes, unrealistic world view of Blacks in advertisements.[38] The Coca-Cola television commercial featuring football player, "Mean Joe Green" with a little boy is a case in point. The little boy offered "Mean Joe Green" a Coke as he was leaving the field, and the little boy caught the football player's sweaty towel and smiled. "Have a Coke and a smile" was the slogan for the ad campaign. However, advertisers for the Coca-Cola Company used "Mean Joe Green's" angry, tough image as a Black man to heighten the success of the commercial, thereby surreptitiously reinforcing White stereotypes of the angry Black man. Many Blacks also were bothered by the images of Black women in advertisements. For example, some were disturbed by the Burger King ad featuring a Black woman talking loud, with her hands placed on her hips, saying she wanted her "Whopper" fixed her way, right away.[39]

Jesse Jackson, then president of Operation Push, was one of the first and most vocal opponents of stereotypical images in the advertising industry. He recognized the important role played by Blacks in advertising in the socialization process. Jackson and many other civil rights leaders were appalled by what they saw and what their children viewed on a daily basis. They were subjected to

Blacks using improper grammar, acting foolishly, and telling jokes that were embarrassing to Black America. For example, Jackson denounced the Coca-Cola Company's television commercial that featured Black people singing, dancing, and speaking non-standard English. Jackson and his associates wanted Coca-Cola and other mainstream White companies to understand the negative and far-reaching effects of such advertising. Jackson asserted that if people saw all African-Americans in ads, speaking non-standard English, telling jokes, singing and dancing, a negative image would be left with Black children. Failing to realize that Black Americans had families, worked hard for their money, and did not all drive Cadillacs, the advertisers did not take into consideration that a Black middle class existed in America. Thus, mainstream advertising executives were not in touch with what was really taking place in the Black American community.[40]

The negative criticism from the Black community dealt constantly with stereotypical images of Blacks in the mass media. Blacks were seen singing, dancing, or appearing in comedic roles in far too many advertisements. In addition, the Black actors who were in the ads often used slang or improper grammar in the advertisements, but not in real life. In most cases, these individuals were paid by advertising executives to speak and act in a certain manner and it is not, perhaps, to their credit that they acceded.

For example, in 1983, letters from Black Americans were sent to the makers of Accent Food Seasoning and to their Boston-based agency, Kenyon and Eckhardt, protesting the commercial that featured Black actress Sarah Rawls cooking fried chicken and hollering about the flavor that Accent added: "Ohhhh, honneyyyy, Accent reaaly wakes up my poke (she was trying to say pork)." Members of the Black community objected to the farcical performance and noted that the advertisement depicted Black women as inarticulate, gruff, and funny, but supremely able to cook chicken.[41]

In an effort to combat the negative reaction from the Black community, many White-owned companies began to hire Black celebrities to endorse their products. The use of Black celebrities in advertisements became a popular trend in the advertising industry from the mid 1970's to the 1990's. Black entertainers and athletes such as O.J. Simpson, Bill Cosby, Sammy Davis, Jr., Wilt Chamberlin, and Lena Horne were just some of the first to be signed by advertising White executives to endorse their products. The use of Black celebrities in advertisements helped to abate the negative criticism from the Black community because the celebrities who were endorsing the products for many of these "Fortune 500" companies were perceived as being heroes and good role models for the Black community. It also prompted more African-Americans to buy products from companies that hired Blacks to endorse their products. Dr.

Andrew Brimmer, as noted by Johnson, has pointed out that long ignored by many White advertisers and manufacturers, African-American consumers are now estimated to have approximately $270 billion dollars worth of buying power. This buying power, according to Brimmer, came in the face of an unequal playing field of opportunities for African-Americans and other minority groups. Brimmer shows that despite the presence of an urban class mired in poverty, the African-American middle class has grown significantly in numbers and buying power. Brimmer has further suggested that the African-American middle class would continue to be an even more substantial force in the marketplace by the turn of the century.[42]

Edward Lewis, in a 1995 Essence article "Cashing In On Our Clout," states that by using their economic power effectively, Black people voice their opinions. Black consumers currently spend more than $270 billion dollars a year in this nation. One way for them to make a statement heard by the advertising industry is by patronizing businesses that prove that they are worthy of Black people's support and rejecting those that are not. He recently created Mobilization for Economic Opportunities Political Action Committee will ensure that the interests of businesses that create wealth and jobs for the Black community are represented in Washington. In this way,

politically and economically, Black money talks -- influencing people and changing minds.[43]

The introduction of African-American celebrities into mainstream advertising escalated in the late 1980's, when advertisers began to offer million-dollar advertising contracts to a few well-known African-American celebrities such as Michael Jackson and Bill Cosby who had mass consumer appeal. Currently, basketball superstar Michael Jordan and Grammy-award winning songstress Whitney Houston are just two examples of African-American celebrities who have secured multi-million dollar advertising contracts over the past few years. According to Kern-Foxworth, "The use of Blacks in advertising was heightened in the 1980's by the success of Michael Jackson's "Thriller" album and Bill Cosby's television situation comedy, "The Cosby Show," which was the top-ranked program for several consecutive years following its 1984 debut.[44] Moreover, Lori George, in her study on "The Effectiveness of Targeting the African-American Market," shows how advertisers have come to rely upon African-American celebrities to endorse their products, perceiving that these celebrities can promote their products to both White Americans and African-Americans, as well as other ethnic groups.[45]

In further support of this assumption, Jube Shiver, in his article, "Star Struck," documents the fact that Black celebrities have become seemingly ubiquitous in television

commercials. In addition, their appearance has increasingly become more strategic and less symbolic.[46] In a related analysis on this subject, Christy Fisher in "Race and the Mass Media," points out the contrast: that in 1963, Black Americans were about as common in television advertising as Black people were in front of the bus.[47] Clearly, things have come a long way since then.

In 1984, Pamela Noel in Ebony asserts that African-American celebrities helped to set the standard for the future of Blacks in the advertising industry by dispelling century old myths and stereotypes regarding Blacks in advertising. For instance, Bill Cosby was reported by Advertising Age magazine as being one of the most believable/memorable personalities, Black or White, doing television commercials. Over the years, he has lent his talents to Jell-O products, Texas Instruments, The Ford Motor Company, Coca-Cola, and other "Fortune 500" companies. Noel stated that "Unlike struggling actors who could not afford to turn down any part that was offered to them, celebrities such as Cosby could afford to be very selective about the products they helped to advertise and about the way such advertising was presented."[48] Cosby asserted, "I've only accepted the ones that I really believe in and enjoy doing. We all know, coming up in a lower economic household, your mother made Jell-O Pudding and you ate it. So it was a pleasure for me to be called to do the Jell-O

Pudding commercials." In those commercials, Cosby disclosed that he was always pushing for the inclusion of children representing the spectrum of America's ethnic and racial groups. Although it has been said by advertising industry insiders that Cosby makes acting in commercials look easy, he stated that doing commercials was the toughest form of acting on the face of the earth. Noel concluded that Cosby is successful because "first of all and lastly, he is good, that's all."[49]

Currently, in 1995, a number of mainstream advertising executives in America and abroad, continue to employ consumer marketing strategies employing African-American celebrities to promote their products. The African-American celebrities hired are those with high visibility and appeal such as Michael Jackson, Whitney Houston, Bill Cosby, Shaquille O'Neill, and Michael Jordan. These five individuals are currently the top earning African-American celebrities who endorse products today for major companies in the United States and overseas. Collectively, these African-American celebrities represent the advancement that Blacks have made in advertising, but especially is this so for Whitney Houston. Like Michael Jackson, Whitney Houston's success as a "pop" music crossover artist has propelled her into the world of commercial endorsements for various "Fortune 500" companies. During the latter part of the 1980's and the early part of

the 1990's, Houston has been the spokeswoman for AT&T, Diet Coke, Arista Records, and United Artists Pictures. Houston's advancement in advertising has opened the door of opportunity for other Black women in advertising.[50] As the first Black woman to endorse products and or services for the aforementioned companies, Houston has managed to advance not just her career in advertising, but she has made an important impact on the portrayals of Black females in advertising.

Over the past two decades, however, Bill Cosby is perhaps the most successful African-American actor to be cast in major advertising campaigns. In the 1970's, Cosby became the spokesperson for the Del Monte Corporation, performing a distinctive voice-over, using his warm, whimsical humor to make the Del Monte Green Beans a well-recognized name. General Foods hired Cosby as a spokesperson for Jell-O in 1973, and in that capacity he also has made some highly memorable commercials in the 1990's. Using adorable children to spoof the Mafia, Western shoot-outs, and national political conventions, Cosby has given Jell-O products high recognition and recall. In 1976, he was retained to shoot commercials for Ford. Cosby was selected by these companies "because research had proven that he exuded an unusual amount of believability and warmth."[51] Cosby's phenomenal success with commercials for Coca-Cola, Jell-O, Texas Instruments, Ford, Del Monte,

Merrill Lynch, Kodak, and Dutch Masters has some people calling him the "King of Commercials." But Cosby has slowly maintained that "If I didn't believe in a product, I wouldn't touch it. I want people to truly understand that I'm not throwing something to them so that they can buy it. Anytime I say, 'please buy,' I'm on the record."[52]

Through his commercial ventures and his television show, Cosby has achieved higher ratings than any other performer in the past decade. Six thousand Americans were polled in May and June of 1988 by Marketing Evaluations/TVQ and asked to rate how much they liked 1,480 television and movie actors, authors, businessmen, and other personalities (see table page 88). The recognizability score tells what percentages of people recognizing the performer rated him or her as one of their favorites. Bill Cosby was known by ninety-six percent of all participants, and fifty-seven percent said he was one of their favorite performers. He sat an all time record a few years ago with a Q score of 71.[53]

The Most Popular Performers in America, 1988

Rank	Performer	Recognizability	Q-Score
1.	Bill Cosby	96	57
2.	Michael J. Fox	90	47
3.	Clint Eastwood	89	46
4.	Katharine Hepburn	81	45
5.	Paul Newman	84	42
6.	Robin Williams	80	41
7.	Estelle Getty	75	41
8.	Carol Burnett	92	40
9.	Tom Selleck	87	40
10.	Betty White	82	40

Source: TV Guide, December 10, 1988

At the time of writing of this dissertation, Shaquille O'Neill is rapidly becoming one of the most sought after NBA players in the country. He is currently ranked second on the list of African-American Athletic Celebrity Endorsers in the world. Jenson reveals that the twenty-three year old Orlando Magic megastar center and master dunkster, is a 7'1", 303 pound, commercial success. He reportedly has signed a seven-year basketball contract with the Orlando Magics which is worth approximately $41 million dollars. He is currently an endorser for among others, McDonalds, Pepsi-Cola, Sega Games, The NBA, and Starter Sportswear.[54] O'Neill's advancements are very significant today because he represents a new generation of young Black successful celebrity endorsers. He and many other Black celebrities of the "Hip-Hop" generation represent the future for Blacks in advertising and are expected to set the trend for Black America in advertising.

The most prominent current Black celebrity, and one who has helped to revolutionize the status of Blacks in advertising, is undoubtedly Michael Jordan. Jordan is a cultural phenomenon whose decision to return to the NBA in 1995 affected the stock market in the U.S. and abroad. His recent return to basketball was celebrated by millions of Americans, Black and White, young and old. According to Kern-Foxworth, "Of all the popular Black athletes, Michael Jordan, basketball player for the Chicago Bulls, has managed to garner more advertising endorsements than any. His popularity and genuine concern for mankind has made him a multi-millionaire, and his unbelievable skill as a basketball player hasn't hurt either."[55]

In 1984, ProServ, a professional athlete management company, signed Jordan with Nike in September, before he had even reported to the Bulls' Rookie Camp. The deal amounted to an unprecedented $2.5 million over five years. With additional royalties, this amounted to more than $1 million dollars a year for Jordan. ProServ was also successful in signing Jordan with McDonald's, Coca-Cola, and Chevrolet during his first year of professional basketball; Wilson Sporting Goods, Excelsior International, a watch manufacturer, and Johnson products were signed later.[56] Jordan was eventually added to the Wheaties honor roll and has had his picture on the box and a souvenir calendar.

In 1993, Jordan retired from the game of basketball, following his father's death, just a few months after Jordan had led the Chicago Bulls to its third national basketball championship. However, in 1995, Jordan returned to the NBA. Not since Muhammad Ali returned to the ring, after his three-year exile, had there been such hysteria surrounding this kind of comeback. "In some cities, there literally was dancing in the streets, and fans lit up the phone lines of sports talk shows with comments about what used to be in Jordan Era I and what could be in Jordan Era II." In a 1995 Advertising Age article, Jeff Jenson proclaimed that "Jordan's return to the world of basketball caused the stock market to rise, because those marketers, which were paying Mr. Jordan $30 million a year for his endorsement, moved very quickly to cash in on the global hoopla."[57]

Michael Jordan is also one of the rare celebrities who apparently appeals to all ages, races, and genders. He is, experts say, a symbol of goodness, and makes people feel good about the world of sports, which recently has experienced its share of negatives. Even though Michael Jordan has advanced his career in adverting by earning a reported $30 million dollars in 1995 just from commercial endorsements, he has also made a significant impact on the advertising industry. Jordan has singlehandedly excelled in this capacity far beyond any other Black athlete in American history.[58]

* * * * * * * *

This chapter has examined the development and advancement of the Black consumer market from 1900 to 1995. An analysis of the findings in this study revealed that Black businesses, from 1900 to the 1960's, helped to foster the development and growth of the Black consumer market. Black businesses such as insurance companies, funeral homes, banks, barber and beauty parlors helped to create jobs and generate much needed capital in the Black community.

Black businesses during this time operated in a "Jim Crow" American society. From a civil and human rights perspective, it was a depressing time for Blacks living in America. However, from a Black economic perspective, it was definitely a progressive time because the Black businesses were rapidly developing and growing. In fact, Black establishments were able in many cases to corner the market in their communities because they did not have to compete with White companies. But, in order to be successful Black businesses had to first convince their own people to trust in them. They had to show Black consumers that the Black man's "ice" was just as cold as the White man's.

After the success of the Civil Rights Movement and continuing to the 1970's, the Black consumer market gained momentum and ultimately meshed with the mass consumer market. This economic inclusion had a great impact on the

advertising industry. First, the county witnessed an increase in the number of Black models and celebrities that appeared in advertisements for mainstream companies such as McDonalds', Sears, Jell-O, Coca-Cola, and so on. Second, there was an increase in the number of Blacks obtaining jobs at White-owned advertising agencies, in various roles from product representatives to sales force to management.

By the 1980's, Black consumers were spending billions of dollars on cars, homes, clothes and other consumer products. As a result, the Black consumer market blossomed into an economic powerhouse. Today, in the decade of the 1990's, Black consumers are using their buying power to further improve their status and position in America's economic, political, and social arena. As for the future of the Black consumer market and the interaction of the advertising industry with it, the possibilities appear to be endless primarily because of the continuous economic growth potential of the Black consumer market.

Similarly, the future advancement of Blacks in advertising should continue to progress. For example, Black sports figures, entertainers, models, and even struggling actors now have an even better chance of getting into the advertising field. These Black celebrities, and even non-celebrities, can continue to build on the early success of Black advertising industry pioneers. Moreover, in today's contemporary society, Black entertainers and non-celebrity

entertainers are now able to walk across the bridges that Black advertising industry pioneers built years ago for them. Thus, the future of Blacks in advertising appears to be a very progressive one. The future of advertising, and with it, the shape of American culture, is ours for the taking; that is if we are willing to step up and take advantage of it.

What is ultimately at stake is cultural identity and the 1990's have witnessed a significant African-American impact in many ways. As consumers, African-Americans are spending millions of dollars a year on consumer products and services. Many of these products and services have been made to help meet the specific needs of Black consumers. Many advertisers today are marketing their products to reflect Afrocentrism. For example, the Spiegel Clothing Company in conjunction with Ebony magazine has created a clothing line especially for Black women. This new clothing line is called "E Style" and it is marketed and advertised in the E Style catalogue. The fashions advertised in the catalogue are greatly influenced by African and Jamaican clothing designers. This is only one of the many examples of how traditional manufacturers are now being influenced by the African-American culture.

This cultural impact is very evident in the music industry. Currently, record company executives are rushing to sign talented African-American musical and "rap" artists

to write and produce songs that are now considered a major part of American popular music. Music artist such as Boys II Men, Luther Vandross, Take 6, and TLC are African-American artists whose musical style has evolved and crossed over from the rhythm and blues genre to the "pop" music category. Collectively, these artists have sold over 70 million records worldwide. Their music seems to be part of a universal musical language which crosses color lines and has frequently become absorbed into mainstream advertising.

Indeed, it is not too much to assert that the African-American cultural phenomenon has now become the main shaping force of American culture. While this cultural phenomenon does not necessarily provide a solution for the many social evils and inequalities that still exist, it is nonetheless a momentous occurrence.

NOTES

[1]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom (New York: Alfred A.Knofp, Inc., 1990), 238.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Harry A. Ploski, The Negro Almanac (New York: Gale Research, Inc., 1989), 238.

[4]Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, 238.

[5]Edward Frazier, Black Bourgeoise (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962), 112-124.

[6]Darlene Clark Hines, Kathy Peiss, "Beauty Culture," Black Women In History (New York: Carlson Publishing, Inc. 1993), 100-104.

[7]John Sibley Butler, Entrepreneurship And Self Help Among Black Americans (New York: State University Press, 1991), 34-79.

[8]Ploski, The Negro Almanac, 260.

[9]Darlene Clark Hines, "Sarah Breedlove" Black Women In History (New York: Carlson Publishing, Inc. 1993), 1209-1213.

[10]Peiss, "Beauty Culture," 100.

[11]Ibid., 101.

[12]Ibid.

[13]"Madame C.J. Walker College," Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life (April 1938): 129.

[14]Peiss, "Beauty Culture," 100.

[15]Peiss, "Beauty Culture," 101.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, 256-258.

[18]Ploski, The Negro Almanac, 580-585.

[19]Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, 260.

[20]Butler, Entrepreneurship And Self-Help Among Black Americans, 79-143.

[21]Ibid., 318.

[22]Ploski, The Negro Alamanc, 584.

[23]Dorothy Cohen, Advertising (Illinois: Scott, Foresman And Company, 1988), 5.

[24]Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, 400.

[25]Ibid., 405.

[26]Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, 238, 256, 258.

[27]Ploski, The Negro Almanac, 311-314.

[28]John H. Johnson, Succeeding Against The Odds (New York: Warner Books, 1989), 50-65.

[29]John H. Johnson, "Succeeding Against The Odds," Ebony, November, 1992, 59-60.

[30]Ibid., 60-61.

[31]Ibid., 62-63.

[32]Johnson, Succeeding Against The Odds, 70-80.

[33]Ploski, The Negro Almanac, 313-314.

[34]Franklin, Slavery To Freedom, 462-463.

[35]Parke D. Gibson, The 30 Billion Dollar Negro, (New York: MacMillan, 1978).

[36]Lynn Norment, "Fashion Tastes And Beauty Trends In Black America," Ebony, August, 1995, 116-117.

[37]Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, And Rastus, 125-127.

[38]Gibson, The 30 Billion Dollar Negro, 1978.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, And Rastus, 126.

[41]Teresa Simmons, "Black Media Association Concerned About Commercials." Charlotte Post, (31 March 1983): 7.

[42]Johnson, Succeeding Against The Odds, 61.

[43]Edward Lewis, "Cashing In On Our Clout," Essence, 7 (October 1995): 8.

[44]Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben And Rastus, 49.

[45]Lori George, "A Study On The Effectiveness Of Target Marketing To The African-American Market." (Master's thesis, American University, 1991), 20.

[46]Jube Shiver, "Star Struck: The Magical Attraction Of Celebrity Families Has Madison Avenue Under A Spell," Black Enterprise, 19 (December 1988): 21.

[47]Christy Fisher, "More Like Mike, And Bill," Advertising Age, 66 (Spring 1995): 47-48.

[48]Pamela Noel, "TV Ad Wars' Newest Weapon: Use Of Black Celebrities Plays A Big Role In The Wooing Of American Consumers," Ebony, July, 1984, 81.

[49]Noel, "TV Ad Wars' Newest Weapon," 82.

[50]Lynn Norment, "Forever Daddy's Girl," Ebony, June, 1990, 132-133.

[51]Fisher, "More Like Mike And Bill," Advertising Age, 66 (Spring 1995): 47-48.

[52]Fisher, "More Like Mike And Bill," 47-48.

[53]Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben And Rastus, 51-53.

[54]Jeff Jenson, "Shaquille O'Neal," Ebony, August, 1995, 84-90.

[55]Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, And Rastus, 53.

[56]Ibid., 54.

[57]Jeff Jenson, "MJ Draws All Levels Of Fans To His Net, Advertising Age, 66 (27 March 1995): 3-6.

[58]Ibid., 4.

CHAPTER III

VIEWPOINTS FROM THE ADVERTISING INDUSTRY AND MEDIA PROFESSIONALS

The research conducted during the process of this dissertation reveals that the historical involvement and advancement of African-Americans over the past one hundred years in advertising has steadily improved. However, research data regarding this area of history has shown that this improvement did not occur overnight. The journey for African-Americans in advertising has been an uncharted one.

In an effort to ascertain primary research data relative to the history and current advancement of African-Americans in advertising, the writer conducted personal and telephone interviews with both White and Black media and advertising professionals. These individuals were asked the following questions:

1. From your own personal experience and/or career, how have African-Americans been portrayed in advertising?
2. How have African-Americans been portrayed in advertising since the Civil Rights Movement?
3. In your opinion, have African-Americans made any major progress in advertising over the past ten years?

4. What is the current status of African-Americans in advertising and the industry as a whole?

5. What does the future hold for African-Americans in advertising?

The following ten advertising and media professionals generously provided their viewpoints as well as other information for this study. They included the following: Earnest Hosendolph, business columnist, The Atlanta Journal; Charlotte Roy, president of Roy Communications, Atlanta; Nathaniel Bronner, president of Upscale Magazine; Wanda Davis, marketing executive, Dudley Products; Dave Barr, senior advertising manager, Ebony Magazine; Lillian Cartwright, advertising manager, Jet Magazine; Leslie Cole, vice president and director of information services, Burrell Communications Group, Chicago; Gina Hobbs, advertising executive, Fahlgren (McDonalds, Atlanta); Junny Hibbert, account executive for recruitment and minority funding, Black Enterprise magazine; and Lawrence Cook, eastern regional sales manager and director of sales operations, Black Enterprise magazine.[1] These advertising and media professionals collectively represent a group of authorities in their respective career fields. They are influential trend setters and decision makers in the advertising and media industry. Their view amounts to a confirmation of this dissertation's major thesis assumptions.

The aforementioned advertising and media professionals provided the following responses to the research questions pertaining to the topic of this study: In reference to the first question regarding the portrayal of African-Americans in advertising, sixty percent of the respondents stated that before the 1950's African-Americans were invisible to them in mainstream advertising. In addition, forty percent of the respondents asserted that if African-Americans were seen in advertisements, they appeared only as caricatures, stereotypical comics, maids, butlers, or cooks.

In reference to how African-Americans have been portrayed in advertising since the Civil Rights Movement, the respondents unanimously maintained that a number of the printed and broadcast advertisements during and since the 1960's began to portray Blacks in a more positive light. This was due in part to the passage of Civil Rights legislation which was enacted at the federal, state, and local levels, giving Black Americans an opportunity to obtain jobs at predominately White-owned establishments. In time, some Blacks secured positions of power at these companies, influenced company policy decisions regarding the portrayal, image, and the world view of Black America.

In addition, the respondents asserted that from the late 1960's African-Americans began to be seen in all aspects of advertising. For example, the respondents noted

that Blacks were often seen on the cover of a number of well-known magazines. Some of those magazines included Glamour, which displayed photographs of model Beverly Johnson on its cover in the 1970's and Cosmopolitan, which displayed photographs of super models Iman and Naomi Campbell on its cover. In the sports arena, the respondents recalled that African-Americans were seen endorsing numerous products and clothing for major sports companies, such as Converse, Nike, Adidas, and Reebok. Most often Black sports celebrities were used to endorse these products. African-American sports figures such as Michael Jordan, O.J. Simpson, Bubba Smith, Emmitt Smith, and Reggie Jackson were seen making sales endorsements for various sports companies. In addition, the respondents unanimously agreed that African-American celebrity entertainers helped to usher in a new day for Blacks in advertising. Black entertainers have been seen since the 1970's in numerous commercials and printed advertisements for nationally known companies in America and abroad.

The respondents pointed out that other African-American celebrities, including Bill Cosby, Michael Jackson, Ray Charles, Whitney Houston, M.C. Hammer, and Michael Jordan, became commercial endorsers for major Fortune 500 companies in America. These companies included Coke, Pepsi-Cola, The Ford Motor Company, General Mills, and McDonalds. Moreover, the respondents overwhelmingly agreed that a small

number of companies such as McDonalds made a concerted effort during the early 1970's to reach out to the Black community. As a result, such companies were able to build a loyal community base of Black consumers.

In reference to the question whether African-Americans have made any major progress in advertising over the past ten years, (that is, 1985-1995) all the respondents agreed that in the last ten years African-Americans have made significant gains in advertising. The respondents maintained that the most significant improvements concern the depiction and image of Blacks in advertising. The respondents commented that African-Americans, for the most part, are no longer depicted as caricatures. In addition, no longer are African-Americans perceived by advertisers as unimportant consumers. The respondents tended to agree that since African-Americans are major consumers, advertisers, especially over the past ten years, have tapped into this growing economic power base.

The respondents also confirmed that the success and development of Black advertising agencies like Burrell Communications Group, Uniworld, and Mingo have contributed to the progress that Black Americans have made in advertising. Several large White-owned corporations hired these Black advertising agencies to create and produce advertisements utilizing Blacks for the general public. In summary, the respondents agree that Black advertising

industry professionals have greatly contributed to the progress that Blacks have made in advertising.

All the respondents concur that the hiring and advancement of Black advertising and media professionals in key decision making positions at White-owned advertising agencies and or media companies, have had a major media impact on what the general public sees in advertising. Some of these African-American professionals include Robin Roberts, ESPN and ABC sports announcer and researcher; Terdema L. Ussery II, president of Nike Sports Management and Marketing Services; Bryant Gumbel, news anchor for the NBC "Today Show;" and Greg Gumbel, sports anchor for the CBS and ABC television network. These African-Americans are just a few of the outstanding influential Black professionals who hold important decision making positions at White-owned corporations.

In addition, sixty percent of the respondents asserted that even though Blacks have made significant gains in advertising during the decade 1985-1995, more work still needs to be done in this field. These respondents agreed that there were still some stereotypical images regarding Black Americans in advertising. For example, in some fast food industry ads, like those produced for Burger King, Blacks can still be seen dancing and using slang while ordering a particular lunch value meal. Also, Blacks featured in advertisements for the music industry can be

seen telling jokes and singing songs with lyrics that are not a positive reflection of Black America as a whole. In doing so, these artists continue to perpetuate old stereotypical images that have plagued Black people for years.

The respondents felt that there needs to be a balance in the images that the general public sees regarding the Black culture. They believe that advertisements where Blacks are seen dancing, singing, and telling jokes -- in the traditional roles of minstrelsy -- should be balanced with an equal amount of advertisements portraying Blacks in more central professional fields. The respondents felt that more images of Black professionals were needed to show a holistic view of Black American culture to the general public. On the other hand, forty percent of the respondents felt this balance was already present. In their view, the media was already saturated with positive images of Black America.

In reference to the question about the current status of African-Americans in advertising and in the industry as a whole, one half of the respondents maintained that today advertisers are turning to the Black consumer market as their major consumer buying group. This shift has occurred because advertisers over the past two decades have realized there is a great deal of money to be made in the Black consumer market. Advertisers are targeting the Black

consumer market because today the mass consumer market is highly segmented. Essentially, people need more specialized products. Thus, advertisers are trying to tap into the Black consumer market by creating advertising which caters to their particular needs.[2] For example, currently Black consumers spend millions of dollars a year on hair care products, make-up, automobiles, clothes, and jewelry. Advertisers are responding to those Black consumer interests.

Moreover, thirty percent of the respondents disclosed that today you see advertising with Black faces that is not specifically aimed at the Black consumer. These advertisements are a manifestation of our country's growing diversity, and the increasing centrality of African-American culture. More importantly, as long as advertisers feel that an individual or a group of people can sell a particular image or product then skin color is not important. The bottom line is that business entrepreneurs are concerned about their profits. These respondents also asserted that if a Black person has the sales appeal that a company is looking for these days, then it is likely that person will become the endorser for that company.

Twenty percent of the respondents have observed that Black celebrities are being used in advertisements more than ever. It appears that the advertising world today is "star struck" and fascinated by celebrities in general. As a

result, African-American entertainers and athletes are commanding large salaries. Because these Black entertainers and athletes are so revered in our society, people -- white, black, and other -- will pay close attention to what they are selling. This, in turn, means larger profits for the advertisers.

In reference to the question regarding what the future holds for African-Americans in advertising, twenty percent of the respondents stated that the trend is toward the continued use of African-American celebrities as product endorsers. Half of the respondents noted that the future trend for Blacks in advertising is likely to be positive because profit is still going to be the bottom line in advertising. These respondents further noted that advertisers can talk about being culturally diverse, but it all has to do with money and profits. According to the respondents, success in this capitalistic American Society is determined by two factors: economic empowerment and political empowerment. The respondents felt that these two factors would shape the future of Blacks in advertising.

Respondent Lawrence Cook asserted that Black consumers, for the most part, have already proven that they have the financial means to make sweeping changes in the advertising industry. Generally speaking, Blacks are major buyers of advertised consumer products. However, according to Cook, in order for Black Americans to see further

progress in advertising, they must gain more political power at the federal, state, and local levels. They must come together as an organized group of concerned citizens to pressure major advertisers who benefit greatly from money obtained from Black consumers. In addition, Cook explained that Black Americans need to put pressure on the Advertising Council, a governing body for the industry, by monitoring its regulations and policies for all advertisers to follow.[3] Further, Cook agreed with thirty percent of the respondents who postulated that the power and influence of the Black consumer market will continue to build a solid foundation. Cook and several other respondents believed that the Black consumer will also set the standards for future generations to follow regarding the role, portrayal, and future success of Black Americans in advertising.

The respondents' remarks cited in this study closely parallel the findings of other research studies conducted in this field. The respondents to this study revealed that using Blacks to sell products has always been a strategy employed by advertisers. Similar studies in the field suggest that from the beginning of advertising, Blacks were portrayed in demeaning situations to appease White consumers. Such presentations were eventually eradicated but were replaced by subtle stereotypes. When these were targeted by Civil Rights activists during the 1960's, changes were made and some of the stereotypes were

eliminated. During that same decade, Blacks were finally allowed to demonstrate that their purchasing and consumption habits paralleled those of other Americans.

The respondents also noted that during the 1960's there were significantly more Black faces seen selling an array of products. This increase in the frequency of Blacks appearing in advertisements was carefully studied and monitored by media censors who feared offending the racial biases of their White consumers. During that time period, the White consumer market was the dominant buying market. Thus, alienating Whites would have meant a sharp decline in revenues for advertisers. For this very reason, Black Americans have fought an uphill battle with the advertising industry. From their first introduction into advertising and continuing over a hundred year span, Black Americans have played a "catch up" game in order to restore their image and dignity in advertising.

The Black Americans' struggle with the advertising industry was further complicated by the persistence of "Jim Crow" laws that held Black Americans in a state of oppression, segregation, and discrimination throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The reality of Jim Crow was reflected in the images of Blacks in every aspect of American society. Thus, racism plagued the advertising industry through the distorted perception and negative portrayals of Blacks in advertisements.

To this end, many Black and a few White organizations criticized the representation of Blacks in advertising as distorted and stereotypical. These groups in turn, designed programs to help change the images presented. For example, during the fall of 1962, several groups requested advertisers and advertising agencies to incorporate Blacks into their campaigns. Up to that time executives in the industry had not considered the Black consumer when planning their promotional strategy. They basically believed that the advertising messages which were disseminated nationally for the White consumer would also reach the Black consumer.[4] The exclusion of Blacks by the advertising industry was brought to the attention of advertisers and advertising agencies by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Demands were made to include Blacks into their advertising. However, when the requests did not bring results, these organizations threatened to boycott for noncompliance.

In addition, in 1964, the NAACP sent letters to the top 100 advertising agencies, requesting that they scrutinize the media used by their corporations in Mississippi. The letters asked the agencies to support fundamental American principles by withholding accounts from media companies that discriminated against Blacks. Subsequently, after reviewing the number of Blacks in

commercials for a special selection of sports telecasts, the NAACP appealed to the Federal Communications Commission to combat discriminatory advertising. The FCC agreed with the NAACP and developed policy measures which increased the number of Blacks in commercials and general advertisements. In 1962, the Committee on Job Advancement appointed by New York Mayor Robert Wagner, requested that 500 advertisers and advertising agencies integrate their advertising. Findings of the committee were as follows.

> The portrait of America painted in our advertisements -- in television, mass-circulation magazines, and other media -- is a distorted one and has through systematic exclusion for advertising layouts of Blacks... created a serious impediment to job advancement and better race relations.[5]

Six years later in 1969, the Group for Advertising Progress, an organization composed of Blacks working in the advertising industry, was formed. It was headed by Douglas Alligood, a Black account executive at Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, a White-owned advertising agency. The main objective of the organization was "to advance the social and economic status of minority group persons in the field of advertising, radio, television, and the communicative arts."[6] More specifically, the group helped to establish internship programs for minorities with media companies and advertising agencies. The Group for the Advertising Progress strongly believed that in order for Blacks and other minorities to advance in the field of advertising and media, they first needed to gain access and

secondly, they needed to be properly trained to function as professionals in those respective career fields. As a result of the group's effort, the number of Black-owned agencies increased from less than twelve to twenty-four.

The success of the group can be attributed to the fact that many of the members were directly involved with advertising, and some had influence in policy-making decisions. Their affiliation with advertisers and agencies made them more accessible to the problems occurring within the industry regarding Blacks. These factors were very important in bridging the communication gap between advertising and the Black community.[7] Also, during the latter part of the 1960's, the New York State Commission on Human Rights held hearings regarding the employment status of Blacks in advertising. As a result, about five hundred additional Blacks gained employment with the twelve top advertising agencies in America by 1970. The Blacks secured positions such as copy editors and account executives.[8]

During the decade of the 1970's, the NAACP and government regulations stipulated that emphasis should be placed on getting more Blacks into White-owned advertising agencies. The NAACP and other such organizations felt that the hiring of Blacks in these capacities would influence the number of Black participants in advertisements, as well as the manner in which they were portrayed. In addition, government and Civil Rights efforts continued to open doors

for Blacks in advertising and the industry from the 1970's to the present. Since the Civil Rights era, the respondents of this study unanimously agreed that African-Americans have been actively participating in all aspects of advertising.

Within the last ten years, African-Americans have made great progress in advertising. According to the respondents of this study, this has been due in part to the spending power of Black consumers. Since 1985, Black consumers have become a major buying group in America. Black consumers spend approximately $400 million a year in every facet of the American retail industry. This buying power, coupled with the success of major Black owned advertising agencies, has sent many advertisers scrambling to cater to the African-American consumer. For example, in the past decade the introduction of Black advertising agencies like Burrell Communication Group, headed by Tom Burrell, and UniWorld, headed by Byron Lewis, have signaled a significant transitional period in the participation of Blacks in advertising. Black agencies have inspired new and more positive concepts about the portrayal of Blacks in advertising. For instance, Burrell introduced the concept of what he called "positive realism," which caught on within the industry. African-Americans can now be seen in advertisements washing their hair, brushing their teeth, driving cars, going to work, and taking vacations just like other Americans.

Burrell's concept of realism has been adopted by many advertising agencies in reference to Blacks in advertising. For example, companies like McDonalds are creating lifestyle advertisements, which are portrayals of various aspects of any given ethnic community. For instance, some commercials for McDonalds will focus on the nuclear family, single parents with their children, senior citizens having lunch at McDonalds' or teenagers working at the store or doing their school work. McDonalds' advertisements are designed to tap into images to which all consumers, including Black consumers, can relate. Moreover, companies like McDonalds and Coke have been pioneers in working with the Black community. This fact can currently be seen in both companies' college scholarship programs as well as high school mathematics and science fairs which have been very beneficial to thousands of young African-Americans.

As for the current status of African-Americans in advertising and the industry as a whole, yet another trend appears to be the use of special targeting strategies aimed at the Black consumer market. The respondents of this study agreed that the Black consumer market is heavily targeted today. They also believed that the presence of Black celebrities in advertising is still quite strong, as well as the hiring of Black advertising professionals in leadership positions at White-owned advertising agencies. These areas

of Black progress in advertising will probably continue to grow.

As we prepare for the twenty-first century, the evidence suggests that the Black consumer market will continue to shape the advertising industry. The projected growth of the Black population is a major factor for consideration. By the turn of the century, if Census Bureau projections are correct, African-Americans, who now represent 12.6 percent of the population, will constitute at least 13.6 percent of the American public. Moreover, Blacks and Hispanics will be the dominant populations in nearly one-third of the United States' fifty largest cities. Blacks alone will constitute the majority in at least nine cities, including Detroit; Baltimore; Memphis; Chicago; Washington, D.C.; New Orleans; and Atlanta. If these calculations hold true, advertisers, marketers, and promoters will pay close attention to African-American consumers because in many areas they will be the primary mass-media listeners, viewers, readers, and subscribers.[9]

It is also projected that by the year 2000, advertisers and promoters will spend approximately $900 million annually, targeting multi-racial consumer markets. This projection was forecasted as early as 1992 when companies spent $500 million on advertising and promotions to reach multi-ethnic audiences, including bilingual billboards, sweepstakes, and parades. This figure

represents a substantial increase over past expenditures. Interestingly, expenditures on advertising and promotional campaigns targeted at multi-racial groups amounted to only $250 million in 1987. There are estimates that as much as $700 million a year is spent by advertisers to target African-Americans. For example, Procter and Gamble Company alone spends an estimated five percent of its $2 billion advertising budget on ethnic-oriented advertising.[10]

In conclusion, this study has traced the history and advancement of African-American in the advertising industry over the past century. Chapter One of this study presented pertinent information regarding the images of African-Americans in the advertising industry from 1895 to 1995. The chapter specifically focused on the depiction and portrayal of African-Americans in advertising. The findings of this study revealed that during the latter part of the 1890's, White-owned companies developed fictional characters based on stereotypical images of Black Americans to sell their products. Fictional characters such as Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, the Gold Dust Twins, and Rastus reinforced the prevailing image that Blacks were domestic workers and happy-go-lucky individuals. From a historical standpoint, Blacks were portrayed in advertisements in demeaning situations to appease White consumers. These advertisements were displayed in mainstream publications across the country. Fortunately, however, the Black press and Black

organizations of that era such as Crisis Magazine, Opportunity, and The Negro World, were able to present a different image of Black Americans. Their advertisements and editorial content reflected a holistic view of Black Americans. Black people were featured as professional businessmen and women, instead of as only maids, butlers, or field workers.

During the 1940's, a new wave of Black publications, spearheaded on the Johnson Company's Ebony and Negro Digest, continued to revolutionize the portrayal of Blacks by giving mainstream America a glimpse of the true essence of Black America as well as Blacks new images of themselves. During the 1960's, the success of the Civil Rights Movement also fostered the improvement of the image of Blacks in advertising by denouncing the negative portrayals of the Black race. The enactment of Federal, state, and local laws made it possible for many Black Americans to obtain jobs in the advertising industry. Some of these individuals such as Bill Cosby, were able to influence company decisions regarding the images of Blacks. Consequently, from the 1970's to 1995, Blacks could be seen in hundreds of advertisements as product endorsers. Many of these Black endorsers were celebrities. The use of Black endorsers became a popular trend for White-owned companies because increasingly it came to be perceived that Black celebrities had mass market consumer appeal. Black celebrities such as

Michael Jackson, O.J. Simpson, and Bill Cosby paved the way for numerous other Black celebrities to become product endorsers for major companies.

Chapter Two of this study examined the development and advancement of the African-American consumer market from 1900 to 1995. The findings of this chapter revealed that Black businesses from 1900 to the 1960's helped to foster the development and growth of the Black consumer market. Black insurance companies, funeral homes, banks, stores, and fraternal organizations created jobs and generated capital in the Black community. Ironically, because Black businesses existed in a "Jim Crow" society, they were able to corner the market in their communities without competition from White-owned businesses. In the years following the Civil Rights Movement, the Black consumer market began to advance, ultimately meshing with the mainstream mass consumer market. This inclusion of the Black consumer market has greatly impacted the advertising industry. By the 1980's Black consumers were spending millions of dollars on cars, homes, clothes, and other general consumer products. The Black consumer market has blossomed into an economic powerhouse. In turn, this Black consumer market from the 1980's to the mid 1990's was targeted heavily by major White-owned companies. Today, Black consumers are using their buying power to further their advancement in advertising and concomitantly, their

position in America's economic, political, and social arenas.

Chapter Three of this study included the summary, opinions, and analysis generated from pivotal interviews with significant African-American media professionals. The respondents interviewed in this study collectively substantiated that Blacks have made significant progress in advertising, but they felt that as we approach the next century, there is still work to be done. Although the history and current advancement of African-Americans in advertising over the past one hundred years has shown impressive growth and improvement, there still needs to be vigilance over what is shown to the general public regarding Black America. The one hundred year history of Blacks in advertising has not always been a crystal stair. Instead it has been a bitter struggle for Black Americans to establish their dignity, pride, self worth, and image that had been distorted by a society driven by racism, discrimination, and segregation. These forces held Black Americans in a second class status for decades. However, America has witnessed the image of Blacks progress from the fictional character Aunt Jemima, on a pancake mix label wearing a kitchen bandanna on her head, to a photograph of an airborne Michael Jordan, a cultural symbol of physical transcendence, being displayed on a cereal box of Wheaties. We have also witnessed the success of Black-owned advertising agencies

which are currently producing advertising for major "Fortune 500" companies in America and abroad.

At the end of this century, compared to 100 years ago, a cultural transformation has taken place. The details of imaging are yet to be worked out, but the centrality of African-Americans in the minds of White advertisers, as well as the general culture, generally is now a fact. This fact is one that will have to be reckoned with for decades to come as a shaping force in American society.

NOTES

[1]Earnest Hosendolph, telephone interview by author, 14 September 1995.

Charlotte Roy, telephone interview by author, 18 September 1995.

Nathaniel Bronner, telephone interview by author, 14 September 1995.

Wanda Davis, telephone interview by author, 15 September 1995.

Dave Barr, telephone interview by author, 20 September 1995.

Lillian Cartwright, telephone interview by author, 20 September 1995.

Leslie Cole, telephone interview by author 20 September 1995.

Gina Hobbs, telephone interview by author 1 November 1995.

Junny Hibbert, telephone interview by author, 7 November 1995.

Lawrence Cook, telephone interview by author, 15 November 1995.

The text of these ten interviews are in the possession of the researcher.

[2]Cook, telephone interview by author, 15 November 1995.

[3]Ibid.

[4]William Boyenton, "The Negro Turns To Advertising," Journalism Quarterly 42 (Summer): 227-228.

[5]Carl Block, "White Backlash To Negro Ads: Fact Or Fantasy?," Journalism Quarterly 42 (Winter): 258-260.

[6]M.L. Stein, Blacks In Communication, (New York: Julian Messner, 1972) 12-13.

[7]Marylin Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, And Rastus, 117.

[8]Ibid., 118.

[9]Ibid., 160-163.

[10]John W. Wright, The Universal Almanac, (New York: Andrews and McMeel, 1989), 233.

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